

CHAPTER IX

WHALERS, RESCUES- AND CASTAWAYS

American ships from New England began to hunt whales early in the **17th** Century. After hunting them out in the ~~Atlantic~~ ^{Arctic}, ~~they~~ they pursued them into the Pacific, and rapidly depleted the stocks in -that vast ocean as well. In their pursuit of the whales, wherever they could be found, it **was** inevitable that the aggressive New England **whalemen** would soon find their way into the prolific whaling grounds of the Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean. It was the whalers that provided much of the substance in the early maritime history of Alaska, and it was also the economic importance of the whaling industry that justified the protection efforts afforded by the Arctic Cutter in the last quarter of the **19th** century.

Captain **Barzillai Folger**, of New Bedford, first discovered the rich whale hunting grounds in the North Pacific in **1835**. His return to New England in the **GANGES**, with a full load of whale oil and whalebone attracted other **whalemen** to the region that would ultimately produce **60%** of the whale oil procured by American vessels. Soon they flocked into the northern waters around Kodiak Island, and in **1845** moved north into the Bering **Sea**.¹ The Russian American Company called for assistance to prevent the exploitation of waters they considered their own preserve, but the outbreak of the Crimean War prevented the Russian **Navy** from intervening.* The

thousands of whales killed by the American whale ships in Bering Sea, seriously depleted the resource. Inevitably, in **1848** the first American ship, the SUPERIOR of Sag Harbor, followed the whales through the Bering Straits into the Arctic Ocean, and others soon **followed**³

. **It** was the **bowhead** or Greenland right whale which brought the New England whale hunters into the North Pacific. The great mammal was characterized by its ponderous head which made up one third of its entire length. The **bowhead** owed its commercial value to its prodigious yield of oil, up to **275** barrels, and its baleen **or** whale bone which could weigh as much as **3,500** pounds. The baleen of the **bowhead** was attached to its jaw in long, finely fringed layers, which projected downward and **outward**. These flexible sections of bone, running up to fourteen feet in length, lie flat along the upper jaw, and are an extension of the roof of the mouth. As many as **700** of the thin, tapering strips, aided the feeding process of the toothless mammal.

When attacked, the whales could dive to great depths, but the shallow waters of the Bering Sea provided less of a refuge than other areas of the Pacific Ocean. When an ice edge was near, the **Bowhead** frequently headed for the protection which it offered, thwarting its hunters in the process. The massive size of the whale limited the number of its predators, but the necessity for surface breathing made escape from its hunters difficult.

Most of the Arctic whalers originally sailed from New Bedford, Massachusetts, but from **1890** onwards the small remaining fleet made San Francisco their base. Departing in December, the fleet engaged in sperm whaling in the Pacific until March, when they usually reached the Bering Sea, to await the northern migration ~~of~~ the bowheads. Then they followed them into the Arctic Ocean. ~~Before 1890 the~~ whalers ordinarily did not proceed farther north ~~than Point~~ Barrow, and would turn back from there by September, for the westward run along the ice pack towards Herald Island off the northeast coast of Siberia. The ~~fleet remained~~ in the vicinity of Herald Island as late as the ice would permit, usually starting south again by mid October.

Whale hunting techniques employed in the Bering and Arctic seas remained basically unchanged for more than **200** years. When the hunting grounds were reached, a **continous** daytime watch was maintained from the ~~crow's~~ nest, and the whaleboats were fitted out, and swung outboard for quick launching. When a whale **was** sighted, the boats were lowered and **rowed** to the location noted. When **a** favorable opportunity presented itself, the harpoon **was** launched at the target, and a hit was immediately made evident by the blood. The whale then usually would sound, trailing the ~~harpoon's~~ hemp line. The struggle could continue for hours until the whale was exhausted, and the boat was able to approach close enough to end the fight with further lances or the exploding projectile

of a bomb gun. The immense strength of the great animals could , be imagined from the record of a steamer in the vicinity of **Akutan** Island which struck a blue whale near the tail with a bomb harpoon which exploded but did not disable the giant. The wounded whale towed the steamer at the rate of four miles an hour for **16** hours, while the propeller of the ship was kept going, reversed at half speed the entire time.* ~~whale~~ hunting was not without its seamen casualties, and the small boats that ventured too near, before the whale's strength was spent, could be **spintered** by the lashing tail flukes.

After the dead beast was towed to the whaler, all hands pitched in for the bloody labor that followed. A chain was passed through the spout hole and another secured to the flukes, while a temporary scaffolding over the side provided a working platform for the men to sever the head and strip off the blubber from the carcass. The head when severed, was hauled onto the deck and the baleen and oil extracted. The value of the baleen reached a price of **\$4** or **\$5** per pound during the peak years of Alaska whaling, and the product of a single **bowhead** could net as much as **\$18,000.⁵**

Walrus were also hunted by **the** whalers, usually when whales were in short supply or while waiting for the Bering Sea ice to open and permit entry into the Arctic Ocean. They were killed with rifles, on the ice floes, or on their island breeding grounds. It **is** estimated that **200,000** were killed by the whalers between **1860** and **1880**, and the total number

slaughtered during the **19th** Century may well have been between two and three **million**.⁶ Walruses, because of their bulk and clumsiness were virtually defenseless on land, and an easy target for firearms. Aside from the oil contained by their layer of blubber, their principal value lay in their ivory tusks, of which more than **10,000** were ~~tyred~~ annually in San Francisco during the **1890's**. Unlike ~~the skimo~~ hunters, the whalers took only the oil and ivory, wasting the flesh and hides. Fortunately for the walrus, and the Eskimos who subsisted on these animals, the decline of whaling in the Arctic, relieved the pressure on the herds before they were completely exterminated.

Full grown bull walruses could exceed **2,000** pounds in weight, and most adults average **10** to **14** feet in length. Limited in their diving range to approximately **300** feet, the shallow Bering Sea always attracted large numbers of these animals. Their seasonal migration was dictated by the ice conditions. The Arctic ice was too thick to allow blow holes for the animals, and during October they usually migrated south into **Bering** Sea, returning north when the ice pack receded in the early summer.⁷

The vessels used by the whalers were built for strength and durability, rather than speed. Usually **100** feet in length, they were unusually **beamy**, and registered between **300** and **500** tons. Most were rigged as ships or barks, and during the latter part of the nineteenth century were increasingly

equipped with steam engines, which greatly increased their safety in the ice. While the accommodations provided for the master and officers were usually commodious, the large crew the whale ships carried, had to accustom themselves to the cramped and squalid conditions of the forecastle.

Life on board a whale ship was a continuous round of hardship from the moment the vessels entered the northern **seas**. Whenever a whale was sighted the boats had to be lowered regardless of the weather, perhaps for an all day fruitless chase. The unhappy crews returned to the ships so stiff and frozen that they were unable to climb on board, and frequently had to be hoisted up. Occasionally they were capsized and the men had to hang onto the bottom of the boat with cramped hands. until the whaling vessel could steam or sail to a windward position and pick them up, if the seas did not wash them off ; beforehand. Ships were frequently crushed in the ice and the crews left to die of exposure. The wreck of the LITTLE OHIO at Point Hope in the Fall of **1888** was one of many instances of the hardship and danger attendant on whaling in the Arctic. While homeward bound, a stray northerly gale forced her onto the coast and within a short time she went to pieces. Many of the crew were drowned, others were thrown on the beach. Of these, a dozen managed to find shelter in the wreckage **until** daylight when they were rescued by the personnel of the nearby land whaling station. The existence of the whaling station was a fortunate circumstance, because the Point Hope Eskimos at

the time were controlled by a particularly brutal **Oomalik**. When they first discovered the castaways, the Eskimos took the clothing from several of **the** shipwrecked men, leaving them naked. One survivor reported: "[**the** Eskimos would have stripped all the survivors] **had** it not been for the presence of the white men, who, they knew, would report the matter to Captain **Healy** of the revenue cutter BEAR on his return in the **summer.**"⁸

Brutal treatment **of** **seamen** by the officers of the whalers **was** common. Samuel Eliot **Morison**, chronicler of maritime New England, commented: "**Many** whaling skippers, who on shore passed as pious friends or church members, were coldblooded, heartless fiends on the **quarterdeck.**"⁹ The harsh conditions were repugnant to decent men who refused to sail on these ships during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This in turn, forced the masters to accept the dregs of the waterfront, and frequently to resort to shanghaiing to fill out their **crews.**¹⁰

William Fish Williams, a veteran New Bedford whaling skipper, characterized the harsh discipline as due to the decline in the quality of seamen following the Civil **War.**¹¹ The seamen, Williams contended, had to be driven by a greater fear of **theirs** officers, than of the dangers attached to the execution of **orders.** Conditions aboard the vessels brutalized the men. The **seamen and** officers also had no qualms about debauching the Eskimos of the Bering Sea coast. Eskimo

women were lured aboard the vessels and kidnapped. The men as well, were taken involuntarily to serve as crewmen and hunters, later to be put ashore ~~without~~ compensation hundreds of miles from their homes. Until the ~~1890's~~ and the arrival of missionary-teachers ~~in~~ the Arctic, there was almost no effective restraining influence upon this treatment of the natives, women or men. ¹²

The whaling seamen's life was fraught with danger and disease. Venereal disease was common, and the monotonous diet, cramped living conditions, and exposure to extremes of climate, contributed to the endemic nature of tuberculosis and rheumatism. Accidents, falls, floggings and other life threatening situations were every day occurrences. Tyrannical officers often drove their crews to mutiny, sabotage, and desertion, and regular wages were only rarely paid. The seamen were largely dependent upon the pernicious system of the "~~lay~~" for their remuneration. From these speculative earnings, based upon the success of the vessel in catching whales, was also subtracted cash advances and the inflated costs of items of clothing and gear-purchased from the ~~ship's~~ slopchest. Whaling ship owners forced their men to share fully, the risks involved in the venture, without providing them the chance of a substantial gain from the profits. If the profits were minimal, the crew gained nothing. Even if the ~~ship~~ did well, the crew members were poorly ~~rewarded~~.¹³

Whereas the natives of the Bering Sea hunted whales and

walrus for meat, skins, and oil, the white man invaded Bering Sea in increasing numbers during the late nineteenth century in response to world demand for whalebone, ivory and oil. However, by 1880,, the oil of the whale and the walrus was beginning to lose its market to cheaper petroleum products. For the remaining 20 years, whale bone alone sustained the profits of the industry. '

The damning effect of the liquor trade among the Eskimos, and the sexual abuse of the natives, has been passed over lightly in the literature of the whaling industry even by its historians, Samuel Morison and Elmo Paul Hohman. Virtually all the whalers doubled as traders. The Eskimos had valuable stocks of whalebone and ivory which they were willing to exchange for firearms, ammunition, and liquor. The trade was unrestricted prior to 1867 because the Russians had no way of curtailing the traffic. It was not until 1880 that . 2ndue Marine cruises in the Arctic, became regular enough to interdict the trade. Even then, in spite of Mike Healy's efforts, it was impossible to halt completely the flow of liquor to the Eskimos.

Captain C.L. Hooper's voyage in 1880 was the first to call attention to the fact that the native population of Alaska was in a crisis situation as a result of the whiskey trading, and that starvation could result from that cause as well as the depletion of their food sources. An American scientist, John Murdock, who investigated the condition of the

Point Barrow Eskimos for the Smithsonian Institution in 1887-88, asserted that "the unmitigated evil of the intercourse with whites has been the introduction of spirits," to which he attributed the lowered fertility of the Eskimo women, and the declining birth rate.¹⁴

Mike **Healy** called attention to yet another problem which had evolved from the activities of the whalers in the Bering Sea. As a consequence of their trade with the whaling ships, the Eskimos had acquired modern firearms which increased their efficiency in hunting, and led to dependency on modern weapons. Bows and arrows would no longer serve their purpose as the animals which had provided a major portion of their sustenance continued to decline in numbers. U.S. Government policy in this regard was a disaster. The trade in modern firearms with aboriginal American tribes had long been prohibited as an incident of the Indian wars in the west, and a similar ban on the trading of breech loading rifles to the Eskimos was enforced, albeit reluctantly, by the Revenue Marine officers. The effect was to seriously hamper the Eskimo hunters. **Healy** repeatedly, and unavailingly, protested against this policy:

Anyone at all familiar with the use of arms knows how difficult it is to charge a muzzle loading gun in cold weather, yet these natives in a polar climate are obliged by law to depend upon this weapon for their principal means of obtaining food and clothing where game has been largely decreased by the very people who forbid them the use of modern weapons . . . I believe no good argument can be adduced for keeping these weapons out of their lawful reach, which the dictates

of **reason** and the promptings of human instincts would **seem** to demand their unrestricted sale. In this opinion I am joined by all who are acquainted with the habits, customs and needs of these **people**.¹⁵

The depletion of the Eskimo food stocks, attributable to the whalers, was the reason Mike **Healy** and Dr. Sheldon Jackson later sought to introduce the domesticated reindeer to Alaska. Jackson painted an alarming picture of the Eskimos incipient **starvation**, and **Healy** concurred with this view: "The results of the active and unscrupulous chase of their pelagic food by the **whalemen** have already become evident, walrus are almost invisible on the ice floes within reach of the native hunters, while the flurried and galled whale makes its passage to the unknown regions of the Arctic Ocean at a speed which defies the natives to capture it."¹⁶

Some of the **whalemen** were conscientious in refusing to trade liquor with the natives. Captain **Healy** repeatedly asserted that a **majority**, were in fact, opposed to the traffic, 'but recognized that those who desired its total suppression were at a **disadvantage** in competition for the trade in bone, **ivory**, and **furs**."¹⁷ One skipper of a New Bedford ship, reported his own refusal to trade liquor. "Notwithstanding all their gesticulations and grimaces, they got nothing but cold water from the **butt**."¹⁸ Rum he noted, had also contributed to a **violent** confrontation between shipwrecked seamen and the Eskimos of the Siberian coast, leading to the death of a **whaleman** and eight natives. "I do

not know upon whom the blame must rest, but I do earnestly entreat my fellow ~~whalemen~~ by every consideration of morality and of self-interest not to furnish these poor people with intoxicating ~~drinks~~"¹⁹

Captain Frederick A. Barker of the whaler JAPAN in the late 1880"s,, was one of the few whaling men to speak out against the wholesale destruction of the walrus herds of the Bering Sea. He warned New England whale ship masters that the practice, "will surely end in the extermination of this race of natives who rely upon these animals alone for their winter's supply of ~~food~~"²⁰ Eskimos, Barker said, had often asked him why the white men took away their food and left them to starve, and of their growing despair as the walrus herds were decimated. Barker found other ship captains who' agreed with him, but felt they were powerless to abandon walrus hunting, against the wishes of the ship owners.

Barker was himself shipwrecked on the Siberian coast and rescued by Eskimos. But for the natives, he said: "Every soul would have perished on the ~~beach~~"²¹ Barker and his men wintered with the Eskimos and learned to eat their native food. "Hunger at last compelled me [to eat] and, strange as it may appear, it tasted good to me and before I had been there many weeks, I could eat as much raw meat as anyone, the natives ~~excepted~~"²² Barker- recognized that the natives were short of food themselves, and felt guilty while sharing their pitiful provender. After he was rescued, he resolved

never to kill another walrus "**for** those poor people along the coast have nothing else to live **upon.**"²³

Appeals such as Barker's might have been effective in time, but events overtook the final extermination of the walrus, and the whale, in the Arctic. Although Alaska whaling continued until after the turn of the century, progress with **alternative** fuel sources-and natural disasters dealt the **whaling** industry several blows from which it never fully recovered. At the beginning of the Civil War the whaling fleet. was still of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the Confederate raider, SHENANDOAH. Steaming into the Bering Sea whaling grounds in **1865**, the raider easily captured and set fire to thirty five of the sailing ships that were unable to escape her boarding **parties.**²⁴

In **1871** another disaster occurred in the Arctic Ocean when thirty-four ships of the whaling fleet, were crushed by ice near Point **Belcher**. Forty-two whalers gathered that year., at the edge of the ice pack, awaiting the opening of the leads. The whales proved plentiful and the ships were being rapidly filled with bone and oil. On the **15th** of August, strong winds from the westward moved the ice towards the shore, hemming the ships against the beach. On the **25th** the wind changed again, driving the ice several miles to sea. The Eskimos warned the whalers that when the ice came in again, it would not go out. A few ships heeded the warning, but most were too deeply engrossed in the pursuit of the **bowhead**. On

August ~~29~~, the wind shifted again to the southwest, and the great ice field that reached across to the Siberian shore, moved in like a vast continent: On September ~~2d~~, a brig was crushed; and on the ~~7th~~, another while cutting into a whale, was caught between two immense bergs off the Sea Horse Islands, and raised up out of the water onto the floe. Next day another whaler met the same fate. There was no sign the ice would open again that season, and the fleet was trapped.

Three small boats were sent along the shore to find out how far the ice extended. They returned on September **12** to report it was unlikely any of the main body of the fleet could escape. Eighty miles along the coast, in the open water below Blossom Shoals, ships were waiting to rescue the crews of the trapped whalers. At noon on September **14, 1871** flags were set upside down on the masthead of each vessel. All on board, among whom were the wives and children of several of the masters, entered the whale boats and made their way ~~through~~ the narrow strip of open water. On the afternoon of the second ~~day~~, the refugees reached the vessels that lay at anchor below Blossom Shoals, and were taken aboard. Of the total of **1217** persons who abandoned the thirty two ships, not one was lost on the journey, and all were debarked safely at Honolulu. The financial loss, however, exceeded two million **dollars.25**

The whale fishery continued with a reduced fleet of twenty seven vessels in **1872.. It** was increased to twenty nine in **1873**; but in **1876** misfortune struck again. Twelve ships

were destroyed by the ice near the same location as the **1871** disaster. Several lives were lost, and fifty three men wintered with the Eskimos, while three hundred made their way safely **along** the ~~Coast to~~ **be rescued.**²⁶ The abandoned vessels, and cargoes, represented a further loss of **\$811,000.** Several of the ships were carried into the Arctic with the ice giving rise later, to **reports** of phantom vessels seen drifting in the northern ice fields.

Individual ship losses occurred almost every year. In **1888**, an unusually bad year for gales and heavy ice, five more ships were **lost.**²⁷ Fortunately, the presence at Point Barrow, of Captain **Healy's** BEAR and the **U.S.S.** THETIS, prevented any loss of life. In **1897** four ships, the **ORCA**, JESSIE M. FREEMAN, ROSARIO-and **NAVARCH** were crushed in the ice near Point Barrow. Others were caught and ice bound, their crews in danger of starving during the winter, A Revenue Marine relief expedition **was** dispatched **overland** from the BEAR. The expedition **was** commanded by Lieutenant David **H. Jarvis**, and he **was** accompanied by Lieutenant **E. P. Bertholf** [a later U.S. Coast **Guard** Commandant] and Doctor **S. J.** Call. The three **officers** made their **way** overland to Cape Prince of Wales, where 'they commandeered the reindeer herd and drove them to Point Barrow to provide food for the **300** ice bound whaling seamen. The following **year** **all** returned safely to San Francisco. The **officers** involved, served for many years under **Healy's** command, and their overland rescue expedition **was** one

of the forgotten sagas of the **Arctic.**²⁸

Although the industry continued with a much reduced fleet in the ~~1890s~~, subsisting largely on ~~the~~ market for baleen used in the manufacture of buggy whips and corset stays, the days of whaling were **numbered.**²⁹ The industry's ~~demise~~ may have saved the walrus from extinction, and Alaska's Eskimos from **starvation.** ~~Clearly~~ the natives of the Bering Sea benefited. An Eskimo at Plover Bay told a whaling captain, when the news of the loss of the fleet in **1871** reached Siberia: "**Bad,** very bad for you. Good for us. More walrus **now.**"³⁰ The industry **didn't** die without first making a fitful attempt at survival by exploring new whaling grounds in the Arctic. This effort led to some of the worst abuses to befall the crewmen of the whalers, and the Eskimos as well.

Whaling east of Point Barrow, in the vicinity of the McKenzie River delta, was unknown before **1880.** A whaler going in that direction to follow his calling, was looked upon as displaying the **height** of foolhardiness. The first man to draw attention to the possibility of taking whales in the Canadian Arctic, was ~~Captain~~ Lewis **H. Herendeen,** of New Bedford. When the whales began to become scarcer, he recalled the stories that had been told by the McKenzie River Eskimos, of rich whaling grounds at the mouth of that river. In **1887** he obtained backing to fit out the schooner **NICOLENE** for a two. years cruise in the Arctic with the intention of wintering at Herschel Island. Bad luck attended the enterprise at first.

That year he could proceed no further east than Point Barrow before the ice closed in. Next spring, the steam whalers GRAMPUS and **HUME** sent on a similar expedition joined **Herendeen** at Barrow, and all three vessels wintered at Herschel Island in **1889**. No whales had yet been sighted, and crewmen began to desert to make their way overland. Most were captured, returned to their vessels and subjected to the cruel discipline of the whaling fleet.³¹

Herendeen exhausted his supplies during the two winters spent in the Arctic, and turned back westward in the spring of **1889**. He encountered Captain **Healy** and the **BEAR**, sent to search for them.³² The two steam whalers remained, and headed further east into the Canadian Arctic where the **HUME** took thirty-eight whales, and the **NARWHAL** fifty, during the remaining months of the year. Their phenomenal success caused a new rush of ships to the Canadian Arctic. By **1893** four or more vessels were wintering at Herschel Island, several spending two or even three successive seasons in the eastern Arctic.³³ In the early **1900's**, incidents involving the worst examples of, brutality and even murder were to occur aboard these ships, and hastened the decline of the Arctic whaling fleet. Mike **Healy** never proceeded as far east into the Arctic as Herschel Island, but in **1889**, Captain Charles H. Stockton took the **U.S. THETIS** there. The **THETIS** was retained by the Navy after the **Creeley** expedition, and assigned in **1889** to assist in establishing the Point Barrow Refuge Station. It .

was ~~Stockton's~~ first experience in Alaskan waters, and his observations were widely publicized in an article subsequently written for the National Geographic Magazine. ³⁴

of all Mike **Healy's** duties during his years of service in the north, none was more frustrating, than ~~the~~ **that** of **sheparding** the whaling fleet. He often railed at the boldness and rapacity that caused the skippers to risk ships and crews each year, in foolhardy ventures. But when the ice closed on the hulls of the whale ships, or when storm and wind denied them passage and ~~threatened to~~ drive them onto the beach, the Arctic Cutter came to their rescue. During the early years of the Arctic patrols the **CORWIN** and later, the **BEAR**, were often the only steam-powered vessels in the Arctic Ocean. The early whalers, relying on sail alone, were often helpless in the midst of the treacherous currents and ice floes. During a seventeen year span between **1871** and **1888** more than seventy whaling ships were lost in the Arctic Ocean and during the same period, more than **400** men were rescued by Mike **Healy**. Still, the lure of profits from whaling was sufficient to take the masters of these vessels north, again and again. Mary **Healy** recounted a meeting in **1883** with a skipper who lost three ship's in the Arctic, "[A]nd does not know how soon he may have to leave his fourth vessel here. The fate of vessels in these waters is certainly very uncertain." ³⁵ The captains were tough men, and whether or not they were fair in dealing with their crews, or with the Eskimos was of secondary

consideration to the owners, who sent the ships out. Safe in San Francisco or New Bedford, their only consideration was profit, in which, not infrequently, only their masters and officers, shared.

In **1885**, Mike **Healy** received the thanks of Congress in a resolution approved by the House and Senate ~~for his kind~~ saving efforts in the **Arctic**.³⁶ The whaling captains also frequently expressed their appreciation for **Healy's** efforts on their behalf. In September **1888**, after the masters and crews of the four vessels wrecked at Point Barrow that year, disembarked from the BEAR in San Francisco, they presented him with a testimonial. "We the undersigned masters of the shipwrecked whaling vessels through the medium of the press . . . return their sincere and grateful thanks to Captain **Healy**. His years of experience **in** the Arctic seas have peculiarly fitted him for this service, and his knowledge of the whaling business, their ships and interest, and his sympathy with them in success and misfortune will keep his name with them in grateful remembrance in our **hearts**!"³⁷

A **year** later, on December **13**, **1889**, fifty masters and owners presented another testimonial in a surprise ceremony held at the Occidental Hotel in San Francisco. Captain and Mrs. **Healy** were met in the lobby by a delegation, and escorted to the adjoining parlor where a banquet had been arranged. In attendance were more than **150** San Francisco notables and shipping industry representatives. Captain William **H.** Kelly of

the whaling bark JANE **GREY** was their spokesmen, and presented **Healy** with the original of a Memorial addressed to Secretary of Treasury William **Windom**, noting their appreciation for the services rendered by Captain **Healy** and the BEAR. The increased seal protection effort which the government had embarked upon, threatened the following **year-to** curtail the **BEAR's** annual cruise to the Arctic Ocean. The Treasury Department had indicated its intention to use the Arctic Cutter to reinforce the **Pribilof** patrols. The shipping interests in San Francisco were anxious to let the Treasury Secretary know of the importance they **attached** to the safety provided by the presence of the BEAR in the Arctic:

Since the first advent of the Revenue cutter in the Arctic Ocean, her arrival has been looked forward to with increasing interest by every shipmaster and individual in the fleet . . . The presence among **us** of the Revenue cutter BEAR. . . . gives us increased confidence to pursue our dangerous calling . . . We respectfully request that the yearly cruise of the cutter BEAR may be continued. To withdraw her from such service would be felt by us as a calamity. The experience, knowledge, and energy of the able commander of the BEAR have peculiarly fitted him for this service. No one in the service of the government knows the dangers to which we are subject, **so well** as he **does.**³⁸

In addition to the life saving and rescue services, the Arctic Cutter towed stranded or damaged craft to safety, lent equipment, supplies, and manpower, and **frequently** assisted in repairing damaged vessels to permit them to safely continue their voyages. In **1889** the BELVEDERE damaged by ice was towed to the beach and a coffer dam constructed around her **so** that

repairs could be made to her ~~hull~~ **hull**.³⁹ The Revenue Marine was held in high regard by the whalers: "Not a member of the fleet from the skippers to the humblest cabin boys but shout words of praise for the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service. The Corps is popular in the Arctic and around Point Barrow whatever its standing may be in other ~~quarters~~.⁴⁰ The work of the Arctic **Cutter** was applauded by ~~Congress~~ ³ and the nation's press, in the frequent news stories of ~~e~~ recurrent maritime disasters in Alaska.

Captain **Healy** frequently came to the ~~defense~~ of the whaling captains when they were under fire, as they frequently were, for selling liquor to the Eskimos. He maintained, by and large, that the majority of the masters deplored the trading carried on by a small minority, but that liquor trading continued to be an endemic problem, he could not deny.⁴¹ Interviewed by the San Francisco Chronicle in 1990, **Healy** observed:

There is no doubt that alcohol was taken by the **whalemen** from Honolulu this year, but that any of it was either given or sold to the Eskimos of **N.W.** Alaska is entirely false . . . I have searched every whaling ship and trading vessel during the past season in the Arctic, I am convinced that no liquor was landed on U.S. Territory. The only vessel on which liquor was found was the schooner HELEN **MARR** and I had the stuff dumped overboard . . . Indeed the traders had no object to bring liquor or any articles to the U.S. possessions in the Arctic. The ~~past~~ **past** season ~~was~~ **was** disastrous to the natives, they caught ~~to~~ **to** whales, ~~for~~ **for** were ~~extremely~~ **extremely** scarce and consequently ~~by~~ **by** they have nothing to ~~ex~~ **exchange** with the ~~ships~~.⁴²

Mary **Healy's** journal reflects the mutual respect that

was developed by their shared danger in the Arctic, and her husband's admiration for the class of men who commanded the whalers. "Captain **Coulson** of the steam whaler **ORCA** came aboard the day after we got clear of the ice [June **20, 1883**] I found him a noble gentleman and **was** deeply interested to hear him tell stories ~~of~~ the **whalemen's** life and ~~narrow escapes~~ in the Arctic. Michael [Captain **Healy**] rescued Captain **Coulson** when he was up after the RODGERS . . . Met the steam whalers [June **14, 1884**]. Such a tooting of whistles it seemed very gay for awhile, then they [whaling captains] came aboard for a chat. They are all very pleasant **gentlemen,**"⁴³

Healy provided other services to the whaling companies. At an early stage of his activities in the north, he requested guidance from the Department concerning his authority to provide transportation for the valuable whalebone accumulated at the shore whaling stations. Instructed by his superiors of the Revenue Marine Bureau, to do so only in exigent circumstances, he repeatedly ignored these orders. In **1892** he transported a cargo of baleen out of the Arctic for the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, justifying his action on the grounds that, "**whale** bone compared to special cargo [speciel which is allowed to be transported on vessels of the U.S. Navy."⁴⁴ Early in the voyage that year, after taking aboard whale bone destined for a vessel which had run aground and been wrecked, **Healy** commented in his report that: "**It** is but a fathering help for the government to give his [**sic**]

protection to the valuable productions of its adventurous citizens. **"45** Not everyone agreed with **Healy's** opinions concerning the masters of the whale ships. **L. M.** Stevenson, Sheldon Jackson's teacher at Point Barrow, was one. Writing in a series of newspaper articles in his hometown of Versailles, Ohio, Stevenson observed:

My impression ~~of the typical~~ whaling captain is that he is a tripartite ~~composed~~ of hog, villain and supreme selfishness; and this ~~impression~~ is formed from being compelled to associate - no, not associate - but live in the same building with one of these animals for an entire year. This **refers** only to those who have sailing ships, and nine-tenths of them are old slave traders who make it convenient to come up here to get out of the way of the government and the penitentiary. Their mode of operation was to fit out at New Bedford, as if for a three year voyage of whaling, go two years slave-trading from Africa to South America, then a part of the third year get a few whales, make a big show of an excellent voyage, **"oil sold in** foreign parts,' and divide the enormous proceeds. **46**

Stevenson's ~~of Union~~ was not shared by Sheldon Jackson who on more than one occasion referred to them as a, "fine body of **christian gentlemen**," Well he might, as Jackson was frequently dependent upon them for transporting supplies to his Arctic schools, and providing the carpenters with which most of his school buildings were constructed.

The Arctic Cutter provided the only medical care available to the **2,000** whalers, natives and white residents in the Arctic. The **CORWIN**, and later the BEAR carried a physician assigned by the Marine Hospital ~~Service~~ or engaged by Captain **Healy**, subject to the department's approval. The surgeon's

nominal duties were to provide medical services for the crew of the cutter, but considerably more of their time and efforts were devoted to caring from the crewmen of the whalers, and ~~the~~ residents in the north. Most of these physicians were aboard for only a single cruise, but Dr. **S. J.** Call sailed with **Healy** on ~~two~~ voyages in the **1890's**. He was aboard the BEAR in **1897**, and volunteered to participate in the overland expedition to Point Barrow. For his services, Dr. Call received a gold medal from Congress and was appointed as the first Surgeon of the Revenue Cutter Service, with the rank of First **Lieutenant**.⁴⁷

Whenever the cutter joined the whaling fleet at the beginning of the summer cruise there ~~was~~ usually a long list of broken arms and legs that needed mending, and other illnesses that required the surgeon's attention. Sick men from the whaling fleet, taken aboard the cutter, often required major surgery. Occasionally, these men had to be left on shore to recuperate, while the cutter continued its **cruise**.⁴⁸ In **1891**, at Point Hope, Dr. Call found a deserter from the fleet in such a forlorn -condition that he had to amputate the fingers of a hand and his left leg to save ~~his~~ **his** life. "His hands and feet were badly frozen and he had lain in the whaling station, with no attention or clothing, his frozen limbs all the time ~~decomposing~~"⁴⁹ Many of the officers and masters of the whalers were also required to perform amputations when the cutter's surgeon was not available, and

instances of this nature increased after **1890** as the ships began to winter in the Canadian Arctic.

The surgeon also treated the frequent epidemics that struck the small communities. In **1893** when influenza raged at **Unalaska**, seven serious cases were taken aboard the BEAR.

"[The] Surgeon treated **100** patients on shore and almost everyone of [the] villagers . . . but for the presence of this vessel and aid of the surgeon, many deaths would have

occurred."⁵⁰ Healy reported to the department during one of his early cruises that: "The value of the services of a medical officer in the Arctic cannot be too highly estimated, the attendance on the officers ~~and crew~~ of the **CORWIN** forming but a small portion of the duty he is called upon to perform." When the **CORWIN** first went north, both Captains **Hooper** and **Healy** found the Eskimos had a great repugnance to receiving medical attendance from a doctor, and would continue to resort to their shaman to cure all their ailments. By the ~~mid-1880's~~ however, the doctor was eagerly sought by them in treating all their ~~ills~~, "and their faith in his power is truly surprising."⁵¹

. The Arctic Cutter searched for formissing ships and men, not only along the Alaskan coastline, but in Russian Siberia as well. At ~~Port~~ Clarence on July **10, 1887**, Captain **Healy** received a **cryptic** message sent on board from a ~~whaler~~. It was a piece of driftwood carved with the inscription "**1887 J.B.W. Bk.. Nap. Tobacco Give!@ On** the other side were the

characters: **"S/W/C.. Nav. M. 10 Help Come."** The message was delivered by a Siberian Eskimo to the master of the whaler HUNTER, in the vicinity of Cape. **Behring,, Siberia.52** **Healy** suspected it came from a survivor of the bark **NAPOLEON**, that disappeared during a gale in **1885..** The message indicated the man was still alive, and that he wanted tobacco given to the Eskimo who had delivered the message. The remaining part of the message was thought to refer to Cape **Navarin** on the Siberian coast, and that the sender might be located somewhere. in the vicinity, ten miles southeast of the Cape.

The BEAR arrived at Cape **Thaddeus** on July **14,,** and began its search. For the next two days, **Healy** scoured the coastline. At a village near Cape **Navarin,,** an Eskimo said he knew where the missing man could be found, and next morning the cutter proceeded to a point **45** miles southwest of the Cape. A boat containing the Siberian Eskimo, and an officer, was sent ashore. In the village, the missing man was located, and identified himself as James **B.** Vincent from Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. Vincent had been a **boat** steerer on the **NAPOLEON** when it **was** lost **and, as** Captain **Healy** subsequently reported: **"The** story [he had to tell] was one of terrible hardship and suffering."

In May **1885,,** the **NAPOLEON** **was** forced to heave to, in a gale that **was** driving **ice** down all **around** it. The vessel tried to ride it out with her sails furled. Pitching and rolling heavily in the great **seas,** her bow **came down** heavily on a

thick **ice, floe** that opened the hull under the forecastle. The crew rushed on deck from their quarters and the Captain ordered a **sea** anchor cast **off** which allowed the bark to swing away from the pack ice. But the waters rushing in from the stove timbers in the bow, could not be contained, and there was barely enough **time** for the boats to be launched before the **NAPOLEON** slipped under the surging seas.

Five of the **ship's** boats were launched before the **NAPOLEON** sank, but there **hadn't** been sufficient time to load . any stores or extra clothing. One of the launches succeeded in recovering **a** portion of the mainsail and this **was** the only protection they had against the raging tempest. One boat was abandoned so that the men could be concentrated in the remaining four, to provide sufficient oarsmen to handle the craft. Captain **S. P.** Smith, knew that in order to reach the Siberian mainland, **at that** time of the **year**, they would have to cross over the ice pack which **was** still close in along the shore.

After waiting one night, drifting about in the hope that the **gale would slacken**, the four **boats began** rowing for the Siberian coast. Almost immediately they became separated. Two containing Vincent and **Captain** Smith, struggled through two more days and **nights** of the storm until exhausted, and starved, they hauled their boats onto the **ice pack**. The problem of **sustenance** then became critical. Vincent, the stronger of the party, **was** detailed by **Captain** Smith to hunt

for seals on the ice. Equipped only with a broken oar as a weapon, Vincent set off. Shortly after Vincent had taken leave of the party, the Captain sighted a sail several miles **at sea**. He ordered the survivors into the boats and rowed towards the ship, which proved to be the whaler FLEETWING. The exhausted men were taken on board, but one died shortly after being rescued.

Vincent, out of sight when the FLEETWING was first seen, continued his hunt for food. Finding two seal pups which he **killed** with the oar, he began his trek back to the edge of the ice where he discovered the boats missing, and himself abandoned, alone on the floe. Captain Smith told the master of the FLEETWING that Vincent was still on the ice, but after the whaler cruised briefly along the edge and failed to sight him, assumed that he too had perished, and sailed away. Vincent still had the seal meat, but he **was 50** miles from shore. He almost despaired of surviving, when the two remaining boats, of the First and Third mates of the NAPOLEON, came into view. This miraculous encounter **was** only the beginning of trouble. Fighting their **way** towards the shore amid the drifting floes, the two boats spent thirty six more days in the wind and cold with little food other than what they managed to find on the ice. Nine men died.

When the boats finally **reached** the beach at Cape **Navarin** only Vincent and eight of the remaining survivors were able to walk. Five died shortly after reaching land. Vincent

built a crude shelter for himself and the three remaining men, and hunted along the shore for food. He encountered a group of Siberian Eskimos during one of his journeys and conversed with them in sign language, finally convincing them to accompany him to the beach where the others were sheltered. Vincent left his companions with a supply of ~~2Weewood~~ and seal meat, and then began his walk inland in the hope of locating a Russian outpost or trader's cabin that might put him in contact with a whaler. The season was already well advanced and the cold winds were a harbinger of the approaching winter. Almost immediately Vincent recognized that he would not be able to make it along the coast to Plover Bay alone, and the Eskimos he encountered were unwilling to accompany him. Finally, so he decided to stay with them for the winter.

Vincent quickly adapted himself to the Eskimo mode of living. Hewas adopted into one of the Eskimo families, because of his usefulness in helping them care for their reindeer herd. When spring came, Vincent returned to the beach where he had left the other survivors from the NAPOLEON and found only graveswhere they had been buried by the Eskimos. They told Vincent they had assumed he too was dead, and that when a whaler searching for survivors landed a small boat on the beach, the Eskimos told them that the entire party had succumbed. The ship sailed away, leaving Vincent with the belief-there was no hope of rescue.⁵³

Vincent spent the summer with the Eskimos maintaining a

vigil along the beach for some sign of a ship. The second winter was passed with the family that adopted him, and with whom Vincent had made good progress learning the language. The following spring he gave the piece of board to Eskimos **travelling** along the coast. "Vincent . . . subsisted **principally** on deer-meat," **Healy** reported, "thereby escaping scurvy. To this fact and- a robust constitution which enabled him to successfully battle with hardship and excessive cold, may be attributed his remarkable escape from **death**."⁵⁴

Vincent was rescued by Mike **Healy** on July 17, 1887. His arrival in San Francisco caused an immediate sensation, when the story of his survival was published in the local newspapers. **Healy** considered it likely other American shipwreck victims might be similarly cast ashore on the Siberian coast. He recalled the experience of delivering the gifts the Navy Department provided for the Eskimos who aided the crewmen of the **U.S.S. RODGERS** in 1883. Mike **Healy** wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury, observing that:

The rewards made so far are deemed very inadequate to the services rendered by these natives, many of whom, although on the verge of starvation themselves shared their little with **the unfortunates** found among them. I respectfully recommend that some reward and suitable articles be given them next year for the humanity shown to **the** castaways of the **NAPOLÉON**, also to insure a like service to future unfortunates. Such an action on the part of the government would, in a short time, be known throughout the entire length of the Siberian coast and if, in the future, any of our people are wrecked on that shore they will receive the best treatment from the natives **during** their exile that their humble lodging affords.⁵⁵

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that her master had rescued four crewmen of the HELEN **MARR** from a floating cake of ice, the only **survivors** of her **40** man crew.⁵⁸

Dr. Sheldon Jackson **was** on the BEAR in **1894** when Mike **Healy** took part in another unexpected drama in the North Pacific. While **enroute from San Francisco, the** cutter encountered violent and unseasonable gales, but a storm much worse than that **was** raging hundreds of miles to the the west near the tip of the Aleutians. The whaling bark JAMES ALLEN, attempting to navigate the dangerous **Saguan** Pass into Bering Sea, piled onto a reef. Captain Arthur **Huntley** recognized that his ship **was** doomed and **gave** orders to abandon the vessel. The storm drove **Huntley's** boat eastward in the direction-of **Amlia** Island. Two of the other boats from the ALLEN were found there, but the remaining two cutters and their occupants had disappeared. Not until a month later **was** it learned that the men in one of the missing **boats had** been saved. The other **was** never heard from.

The task of surviving on **Amlia** Island drove concern for the fate of 'the other missing seamen from everyone's mind. For two days while the storm continued to rage, they huddled on the beach, living on **seaweed, mussels** and a few codfish caught with hooks made of bailing wire. When the storm finally abated on the third day, an attempt was made to get the boats out past the breakers so that they could continue to **Unalaska,** two hundred and forty miles **away.** One of the craft **was** rigged with

nominal duties were to provide medical services for the crew of the cutter, but considerably more of their time and efforts were devoted to caring from the crewmen of the whalers, and the residents in the north. Most of these physicians were aboard for only a single cruise, but Dr. **S. J.** Call sailed with **Healy** on two. voyages in the **1890"s.** He was aboard the BEAR in **1897,,** and volunteered to participate in the overland expedition to Point Barrow. For his services, Dr. Call received a gold medal from Congress and was appointed as the first Surgeon of the Revenue Cutter Service, with the rank of First **Lieutenant.**⁴⁷

Whenever the cutter joined the whaling fleet at the beginning of the summer cruise there was usually a long list of broken arms and legs that needed mending, and other illnesses that required the surgeon's attention. Sick men from the whaling fleet, taken aboard the cutter, often required major surgery. Occasionally, these men had to be left on shore to recuperate, while the cutter continued its **cruise.**⁴⁸ In **1891,,** at Point Hope, Dr. Call found a deserter from the fleet in such a forlorn -condition that he had to amputate the fingers of a hand and his left leg to save **his life.** "His hands and feet were badly frozen and he had lain in the whaling station, with no attention or clothing, his frozen limbs all the time **decomposing.**"⁴⁹ Many of the officers and masters of the whalers were also required to perform amputations when the cutter's surgeon was not available, and

was found which gave some shelter, while **Huntley** made a new effort to get off the island. Each time the boat was driven back, and it wasn't until **June 5** that they were finally able to launch it through the surf. Neither the men **Huntley** took with him, nor those left behind on **Unnak**, had much hope they would survive to see each other again. Those who went with the Captain, spurred by the chance of reaching **Unalaska** alive, spent what little strength they had during the first day. The remainder of the time they were too weak and discouraged to do more than allow the boat to drift with the wind and tide. On the seventh day, **Huntley** thought he recognized the entrance to **Unalaska** harbor, but was unwilling to believe his eyes for fear they were betraying him. Only when the cutter was at the harbor entrance did he dare to arouse his men.

The **BEAR** was anchored in the harbor. A lookout spotted the **Huntley** craft, and sounded the alarm. A small boat entering the harbor meant only one thing, that disaster had befallen a ship somewhere in the North Pacific. The steam launch was lowered and sent to aid the exhausted men. The **Ship's** Log of the **BEAR** provides a record of the incident: "At one o'clock sent steam launch to ascertain character of a whale boat seen coming into **Unalaska Bay** from sea. Found her to be one of the boats of the wrecked bark **JAMES ALLEN** lost May **11th** in **Saguan Pass**, containing Captain Arthur **Huntley**, and the following six men . . . Brought them on board in a weak. exhausted condition. Gave medical aid to those needing

was developed by their shared danger in the Arctic, and her husband's admiration for the class of men who commanded the whalers. "Captain **Coulson** of the steam whaler **ORCA** came aboard the day after we got clear of the ice [June **20, 1883**] I found him a noble gentleman and **was** deeply interested to hear him tell stories **of** the **whalemen's** life and **narrow escapes** in the Arctic. Michael [Captain **Healy**] rescued Captain **Coulson** when he was up after the **RODGERS** . . . Met the steam whalers [June **14, 1884**]. Such a tooting of whistles it seemed very **gay** for awhile, then they [whaling **captains**] came aboard for a chat. They are all very pleasant **gentlemen**!"⁴³

Healy provided other services to the whaling companies. At an early stage of his activities in the north, he requested guidance from the Department concerning his authority to provide transportation for the valuable whalebone accumulated at the shore whaling stations. Instructed by his superiors of the Revenue Marine Bureau, to do so only in exigent circumstances, he repeatedly ignored these orders. In **1892** he transported a cargo of baleen out of the Arctic for the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, justifying his action on the grounds that, "**whale** bone compared to special cargo [speciel which is allowed to be transported on vessels of the U.S. Navy."⁴⁴ Early in the voyage that year, after taking aboard whale bone destined for a vessel which had run aground and been wrecked, **Healy** commented in his report that: "**It** is but a fathering help for the government to give his [sic]

after **Huntley** left, and the survivors had turned to **cannibalism**.⁶⁰

Healy perceived a commonality of interest with the masters of the ships that sailed the North Pacific. His duty, as he perceived it, was **to promote** and safeguard the growth of **commerce** on the Alaska Frontier. In doing so, he sometimes turned a blind eye to the abuses that it entailed, and to **conditions** aboard the Hell-Ships. He saw his duty to be one of supporting the masters, even when this sometimes entailed . . . gross injustices to the crewmen. To some extent he also overlooked the **debauching** of the Eskimos, although this became more prevalent later, in the dying days of whaling, when **Healy** was no longer in command of the Arctic Cutter. The masters also came to **Healy's** assistance when he was in trouble, by producing a wealth of perjured testimony during the various official enquiries in which he was involved.

the whaling bark JANE **GREY** was their spokesmen, and presented **Healy** with the original of a Memorial addressed to Secretary of Treasury William **Windom**, noting their appreciation for the services rendered by Captain **Healy** and the BEAR. The increased seal protection effort which the government had embarked upon, threatened the following year-to curtail the **BEAR's** annual cruise to the Arctic Ocean. The Treasury Department had indicated its intention to use the Arctic Cutter to reinforce the **Pribilof** patrols, The shipping interests in San Francisco were anxious to let the Treasury Secretary know of the importance they **attached** to the safety provided by the presence of the BEAR in the Arctic:

Since the first advent of the Revenue cutter in the Arctic Ocean, her arrival **has** been looked forward to with increasing interest by every shipmaster and individual in the fleet , , , The presence among **us** of the Revenue cutter BEAR.. , , gives us increased confidence to pursue our dangerous calling ! , . We respectfully request that the yearly cruise of the cutter BEAR may be continued. To withdraw her from such service would be felt by us as a calamity. The experience, knowledge, and energy of the able commander of the BEAR have peculiarly fitted him for this service. No one in the service of the government knows the dangers to which we are subject, so well as he **does.38**

In addition to the life saving and rescue services, the Arctic Cutter towed stranded or damaged craft to safety, lent equipment, supplies, and manpower, **and frequently** assisted in repairing damaged vessels to permit them to safely continue their voyages. In **1889** the BELVEDERE damaged by ice was towed to the beach and **a coffer** dam constructed around her so that

Merchant Marine was enacted in 1915,, the whaling fishery in the Arctic was all but ended.

13.. Elmo Paul Hohman, The American Whaleman (Reprinted, London: McDonald & James; 1974),, 217-243; Gerald O.. Williams, Sharecroppers at Sea: The Whaler's Lay, and Events in the Arctic, 1905-1907.." (Paper delivered at the Seventy-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, 17 August 1986..))

14.. John Murdock, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, (Washington: GPO, 1892),, 50..

15.. Healy,, Cruise of the Corwin 1884,, 16..

16.. U.S. Department of Interior, Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska, Special Report prepared by Dr. Sheldon Jackson. (Washington: GPO, 1891),, 4, 32..

17.. Healy,, Cruise of the Corwin 1885,, 17..

18. Everett S.. Allen, Children of the Light (Boston: Little Brown, 1973),, 264..

19! Ibid., 201

20! Ibid., 202

21! Ibid., 201..

22. Ibid., 202..

23. Ibid., 202..

24.. Murray Morgan, Dixie Raider (New York:Dutton, 1948),, 209-299; Robert N.. DeArmond, "Warts End in Bering Sea," Alaska Sportsman, 2 ((1937)) 11,, 36-42..

25.. Andrews,, "Alaska Whaling", 8; San Francisco Bulletin, 6,, 7 November 1871; A.B.C.. Whipple, Ed., The Whalers. (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life, 1979),, 148-172; New York Times, 19 July 1891,, printed a lengthy article on the occasion of Congress' approval of an award to the owners of the five whaling vessels who rescued the crews of the 32 whalers lost in the Arctic 20 years earlier.

26.. The Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the United States ((Washington:GPO, 1887),, 84..

27.. Clarence L.. Andrews,, "Marine Disasters of the Alaska

was ~~Stockton's~~ first experience in Alaskan waters, and his observations were widely publicized in an article subsequently written for the National Geographic Magazine. 34

Of all Mike Healy's duties during his years of service in the north, none was more frustrating, than ~~the~~ that of ~~sheparding~~ the whaling fleet. He often railed at the boldness and rapacity that caused the skippers to risk ships and crews each year, in foolhardy ventures. But when the ice closed on the hulls of the whale ships, or when storm and wind denied them passage and ~~threatened to~~ drive them onto the beach, the Arctic Cutter came to their rescue. During the early years of the Arctic patrols the **CORWIN** and later, the **BEAR**, were often the only steam-powered vessels in the Arctic Ocean, The early whalers, relying on sail alone, were often helpless in the midst of the treacherous currents and ice floes. During a seventeen year span between **1871** and **1888** more than seventy whaling ships were lost in the Arctic Ocean and during the same period, more than **400** men were rescued by Mike Healy.. Still, the lure of profits from whaling was sufficient to take the masters of these vessels north, again and again. Mary Healy recounted a meeting in **1883** with a skipper who lost three ship's in the Arctic, "[A]nd does not know how soon he may have to leave his fourth vessel here. The fate of vessels in these waters is certainly very uncertain." 35 The captains were tough men, and whether or not they were fair in dealing with their crews, or with the Eskimos was of secondary

35. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 20 June 1883..

36.. U.S. Congress, "**Joint** Resolution Commending Captain Michael A. **Healy**, U.S. Revenue Marine," **H.R. 2507**, 48th Congress, 2d sess., January 19,, 1885..

37! San Francisco Chronicle, 7 September 1888..

38 San Francisco Chronicle, 14 December 1889; "Memorial to Secretary of Treasury," 2 December 1889,, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.'

39.. **Healy** to **Secty**.. Treasury, 19 August 1889,, Revenue Marine Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

40.. **Healy** Scrapbook, **Healy** Papers, New York Sun, n.d. ((1892))

41.. **Healy** pursued whalers who traded liquor with the Alaskan natives, when he had proof. In 1892 after finding that Captain Joseph Whitesides of the BELVEDERE traded a keg of whiskey and 10 sacks of flour with St. Lawrence Eskimos for 20 slabs of whalebone, he pursued the whaler to the Siberian coast, "even though the amount traded **was** under the statutory limit of \$400 and would not authorize the seizure of the vessel. . . . I hoped to be able to recover and confiscate the ~~whalebone~~ and as a Justice of the **Peace** for the Territory to impose a fine on the master." He missed the whaler, but retained the keg as evidence which could be traced by the Collector in San Francisco, and also took statements from the Eskimos concerning the transaction. **Healy** to **Secty**., Treasury, 29 June 1892,, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

42. San Francisco Chronicle 14 November 1890.. In 1890,, **Healy** also ~~felt~~ obliged to explain why he had not confiscated the **HELEN MARR** when he found her laden with whiskey, and had ordered it dumped overboard.

The **liquor** in question **was** purchased in Honolulu for trade on the Siberian **coast** on the master's responsibility and not by his owners orders. He came into Port Clarence to recruit ship and had ample opportunity to land his liquor during his stay of a week or ten days before our arrival. He claimed that he had not landed or disposed of any in American territory and waters and would not do so. There was no evidence ashore, or among the **Indians** that he had, and every reason for presuming that he had not . . . By the destruction of the property I removed all possibility of the master's **trafficking** [sic] in liquor, and subjected him to an **actual** loss, in the cost of the liquor of nearly two hundred dollars . . . In view of

of the forgotten sagas of the **Arctic.**²⁸

Although the industry continued with a much reduced fleet in the ~~1890s~~, subsisting largely on ~~the~~ market for baleen used in the manufacture of buggy whips and corset stays, the **days** of whaling were **numbered.**²⁹ The **industry's** demise may have saved the walrus from extinction, and Alaska's Eskimos from **starvation.** ~~Clearly~~ the natives of the Bering Sea benefited. An Eskimo at Plover Bay told a whaling captain, when the news of the loss of the fleet in **1871** reached Siberia: "**Bad,** very bad for you. Good for us. More walrus **now.**"³⁰ The industry **didn't** die without first making a fitful attempt at survival by exploring new whaling grounds in the Arctic. This effort led to some of the worst abuses to befall the crewmen of the whalers, and the Eskimos as well.

Whaling east of Point Barrow, in the vicinity of the McKenzie River delta, was unknown before **1888.** A whaler going in that direction to follow his calling, was looked upon as displaying the **height** of foolhardiness. The first man to draw attention to the possibility of taking whales in the Canadian Arctic, was ~~Captain~~ Lewis **H. Herendeen,** of New Bedford. When the whales began to become scarcer, he recalled the stories that had been told by the McKenzie River Eskimos, of rich whaling grounds at the mouth of that river. In **1887** he obtained backing to fit out the schooner **NICOLENE** for a two. years cruise in the Arctic with the intention of wintering at Herschel Island. Bad luck attended the enterprise at first.

Jarvis' overland expedition to Point Barrow. Albert S. Cocke,,
"Dr. Samuel J. Call," Alaska Journal, 4 (1974) 181-188.

48.. Healy to Secty.. Treasury, 2 August 1893,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

49.. "Report of Surgeon Call," Healy to Secty., Treasury, 17 September 1891,, Alaska File., RG 26,, National Archives.

50.. Healy to Secty., Treasury, 7 October 1893,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

51! Healy,, The Cruise of the Corwin 1885, 17..

52. The original driftwood message is in the the possession of the New Bedford Public Library which has a unique collection of materials concerning the New Bedford Whalers. .

53.. The San Francisco newspapers in reporting the incident of Vincent's rescue indicate that an earlier message was received in 1886 delivered by an Eskimo to Capt. Lincoln of the Russian steamer SIBERIA. Lincoln's ship and the Russian cruiser RASBONYK searched the coast that summer as far south as Petropaulovski without success. San Francisco Chronicle, 10 September 1887..

54.. Healy to Secty.. Treasury, 26 November 1887,, Andrews Papers.

55.. Healy to Secty.. Treasury, 3 December 1887,, Revenue Marine Files, RG 26,, National Archives.

56.. Public Law 30,, U.S. Congress, Approved April 2,, 1888..

57.. J.B. Vincent was 38 years of age at the time of his ordeal. The story is recounted in: Bixby, Track of the Bear, 207-211; Burroughs, The Great Ice Ship: Bear, 45-47; and in Healy's official report of the incident: Healy to Secty., Treasury, 26 November 1887,, Andrews Papers.

58.. Healy to Secty., Treasury, 28 October 1892,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

59. Log of U.S.R.S. Bear, 12 June 1894; Healy to Secty., Treasury,, 12 June 1894,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

60.. Huntley wrote his story for Dr. Sheldon Jackson, and the story was printed in an abbreviated form: New York Evening Express, 5 December 1894,, Jackson Papers. Log of U.S.R.S. Bear, 19,, 20,, 21,, 22,, June 1894. A footnote to the

August ~~29~~, the wind shifted again to the southwest, and the great ice field that reached across to the Siberian shore, moved in like a vast continent: On September ~~2d~~, a brig was crushed; and on the ~~7th~~, another while cutting into a whale, was caught between two immense bergs off the Sea Horse Islands, and raised up out of the water onto the floe. Next day another whaler met the same fate. There was **no** sign the ice would open again that season, and the fleet was trapped.

Three small boats were sent along the shore to find out how far the ice extended. They returned on September **12** to report it was unlikely any of the main body of the fleet could escape. Eighty miles along the coast, in the open water below Blossom Shoals, ships were waiting to r&cue the crews of the trapped whalers. At noon on September **14, 1871** flags were set upside down on the masthead of each vessel. All on board, among whom were the wives and children of several of the masters, entered the whale boats and made their way through the narrow strip of open water. On the afternoon of the second **day**, the refugees reached the vessels that lay at anchor below Blossom Shoals, and were taken aboard. Of the total of **1217** persons who abandoned the thirty two ships, not one was lost on the journey, and all were debarked safely at Honolulu. The financial loss, however, exceeded two million **dollars.25**

The whale fishery continued with a reduced fleet of twenty seven vessels in **1872.. It** was increased to twenty nine in **1873**; but in **1876** misfortune struck again. Twelve ships

CHAPTER X

ROCKS AND SHOALS

Conditions for the crewmen on the whaleships in the late **19th** century, were **bad**.by any standards. The United States was slow in **ameliorating** the conditions of shipboard life for its seamen. The **medieval** conditions which characterized American ships, persisted into the early **20th** century. Even Senator Robert **LaFollette's** success in securing.. passage of the Act of **1915 "For** the Emancipation of American Seamen," one of the great legislative reforms of the Progressive Era, failed for the most part to reach the despotically oppressed seamen of the whaling industry. This failure was largely attributable to the persistence of the "**Lay**," the practice by which whaling crewmen were compensated by receiving a **share** of the value of their ship's catch. One Revenue Marine Officer observed in **1906**, that the result, after deducting all of the sailor's expenses and debts to the vessel, was that he receiving virtually nothing at the end of the voyage:.

It is awful to think that a man can spend one, two, or even three years going to sea in a whaling ship without having a Dollar to show for it at the end of that time, still, that is just what often happens under present conditions when the **crew** is shipped on a Lay or Share of the Catch or Voyage, and the **crew** of the steamers, **Bowhead, Karluk, and Thrasher** asked me while at Point Barrow to have them detained in the Military Prison at **Alcatraz** on their arrival at San Francisco pending the legal investigation of their complaints against **the** Masters and owners, as they **didn't** expect to get one

not know upon whom the blame must rest, but I do earnestly entreat my fellow ~~whalemen~~ by every consideration of morality and of self-interest not to furnish these poor people with intoxicating ~~drinks~~¹⁹

Captain Frederick A. Barker of the whaler JAPAN in the late 1880's, was one of the few whaling men to speak out against the wholesale destruction of the walrus herds of the Bering Sea. He warned New England whale ship masters that the practice, "will surely end in the extermination of this race of natives who rely upon these animals **alone** for their winter's supply of **food**."²⁰ Eskimos, Barker said, had often asked him why the white men took **away** their food and left them to starve, and of their growing despair **as** the walrus herds were decimated. Barker found other ship captains who' agreed with him, but felt they were powerless to abandon walrus hunting, against the wishes of the ship owners.

Barker **was** himself shipwrecked on the Siberian coast and rescued by Eskimos. But for the natives, he said: "**Every** soul would have perished on the **beach**."²¹ Barker and his men wintered with the Eskimos and learned to eat their native food. "Hunger at last compelled me [to eat] and, strange as it may appear, it tasted good to me and before **I** had been there many weeks, I could eat as much raw meat **as** anyone, the natives **excepted**."²² Barker. recognized that the natives were short of food **themselves**, and felt guilty while sharing their pitiful provender. After he **was** rescued, he resolved

Seamen's Boarding Houses. A Revenue Marine officer who followed **Healy** in command of the Arctic Cutter, commented as late as **1906** that:

It is evident to anyone who knows anything about a seafaring life, that shanghaiing a drunken sailor into a whaling ship in San Francisco is perfectly easy, and a certain amount of advance money is in each case charged to the man's account, which he ~~has~~ **usually** never seen and never received, and he only comprehends his real condition after his sad awakening to the realization of being at sea in a **whaler**.³

Charles **Brower**, one of the first white residents of ~~Point~~ Barrow, recounted his own experiences as a youth on the whaler GRAMPUS in the mid **1880's** when his first assignment was to assist in boarding a new crew in San Francisco: "**The** task was enlivened by contact with an **ex-convict** known affectionately as Sunrise Harris. While mate of the SUNRISE this Harris had shot a man **down** from the yard arm. Now he was a Special Policeman. **I'm** sure no man was ever better suited for the gentle art of receiving a new **ship's** crew, most of whom came aboard roaring drunk. It was our job to take their liquor ~~away~~, **Receiving** with Sunrise was a liberal education, but not one to soften a **man's sensibilities**." ¹⁴

The rough practices of recruiting seamen had been brought under a limited degree of regulation for the merchant service, but there was little protection for the men who served on the whalers. Once aboard, when the ship was well at sea, the process of "~~Linking~~ the crew into shape," was taken over by the officers:

Point Barrow Eskimos for the Smithsonian Institution in' ~~1887-88~~, asserted that "**the** unmitigated evil of the intercourse with whites has been the introduction of spirits," to which he attributed the lowered fertility of the Eskimo women, and the declining birth **rate**.¹⁴

Mike **Healy** called attention to yet another problem which had evolved from the activities of the whalers in the Bering Sea. As a consequence of their trade with the whaling ships, the **Eskimos** ~~had~~ acquired modern firearms which increased their efficiency in hunting, and led to dependency on -modern weapons. Bows and arrows would no longer serve their purpose **as** the **animals** which **had** provided a major portion of their sustenance continued to decline in numbers. U.S. Government policy in this regard **was** a disaster. The trade in modern firearms with aboriginal American tribes had-long been prohibited **as** an incident of the Indian wars in the west, and a similar ban on the trading of breech loading rifles to the Eskimos **was** enforced, albeit reluctantly, by the Revenue Marine officers. The effect was to seriously hamper the Eskimo hunters. **Healy** repeatedly, and unavailingly, protested against this policy:

Anyone **at all** familiar with the use of arms knows how difficult it is to charge **a** muzzle loading gun in cold weather, yet these natives in **a** polar climate are obliged by law to depend upon this weapon for their principal means of obtaining food and clothing where game has been largely **decreased** by the very people who forbid them the use of modern weapons . . . **I** believe no good argument can be adduced for keeping these weapons out of their lawful reach, which **the** **dictates**

times for one or more winters, on an unsound diet, developed scurvy **and** tuberculosis. Frostbite, and subsequent gangrene from the extreme weather, poor clothing and short rations were common. A Surgeon of the U.S. Marine Hospital System observed of the conditions on the whalers: "No prison, certainly one of modern days, so wretched that life within its walls is preferable to the quarters and life of the sailor aboard the vast majority of [these] **vessels.**"⁷

As early as **1790**, Federal Laws authorized the arrest ~~off~~ deserting seamen and their detention by the civil authorities. These provisions were retained in the Shipping Commissioner Act of **1872**. Although other maritime nations had relieved their seamen from the penalty of imprisonment for desertion, the United States persisted in the view that once the seaman had signed ship's articles, they were irrevocably tied to the vessel. Under the guise of "discipline" they were also subject to beating, imprisonment, withholding of suitable food, and other punishments unless these were found to be, "without suitable cause." The rule laid down by the U.S. Supreme Court, was followed **until 1898** when all forms of corporal punishment were forbidden, following enactment ~~of~~ the 'White **Act.**'⁸

When a whaling master was charged with abusive and cruel treatment of his crew in **1894**, the entire whaling fleet threatened to change its base of operations to the Hawaiian Islands **if** the penalties of the civil law were enforced **against him.**⁹ Physical punishment was countenanced by the

women were lured aboard the vessels and kidnapped. The men as well, were taken involuntarily to serve as crewmen and hunters, later to be put ashore-without compensation hundreds of miles from their homes. Until the **1890's** and the arrival of missionary-teachers ~~in~~ the Arctic, there was almost no effective restraining influence upon this treatment of the natives, women or men. ¹²

The whaling seamen's life was fraught with danger and disease. Venereal disease was common, and the monotonous diet, cramped living conditions, and exposure **to extremes** of **climate**, contributed to the endemic nature of tuberculosis and rheumatism. Accidents, falls, floggings and other life threatening situations were **every** day occurrences. Tyrannical officers often drove their crews to mutiny, sabotage, and desertion, and regular wages were only rarely paid. The seamen were largely dependent upon the pernicious system of the "~~lay~~" for their remuneration. From these speculative earnings, based upon the success of the vessel in catching whales, was also subtracted cash advances and the inflated costs of items of clothing and gear purchased from the ship's slopchest. Whaling ship owners forced their men to share **fully**, the risks involved in the venture, without providing them the chance of a substantial gain from the profits. If the profits were minimal, the crew gained nothing. Even if the ship did well, the crew members were poorly **rewarded**.¹³

Whereas the natives of the Bering Sea hunted whales and

civilization. **The hardships** suffered by these runaways, marooned on a barren coast far from any white settlement, were sometimes pitiful and tragic.

A deserter rescued from the beach by a Revenue cutter at Port Clarence in **1906**, had been stranded there for five years. His repeated and desperate efforts to get back of civilization had proved unavailing. When he deserted, he had confidently expected to obtain passage back home on another vessel, or make his **way** inland to a mining camp. What he **didn't** realize was that there were few passing ships except whalers, and that the nearest settlements were hundreds of miles distant across bleak tundra and mountain ranges. He was hunted for **days** by his officers, armed with rifles, and several times only narrowly eluded capture. Finally he managed to escape into the interior, and waited until the whaling fleet had sailed away. Passing the following winter in dreary idleness among the Eskimos, he prayed for July when the whalers would come again, and afford his one opportunity to get back home. When July arrived at last, and the fleet dropped anchor at Port Clarence, he went from ship to ship praying to be taken aboard. Not one would accept him, and the masters ordered him driven back over the side, **"to stay and rot with the Eskimos."** **When** the **man** climbed on the cutter after five years in the Arctic, wild-looking and dishevelled, he fell on his knees praying to be taken back **south.**¹¹

When deserters were recaptured by the ships from which

equipped with steam engines, which greatly increased their safety in the ice. While the accommodations provided for the master and officers were usually commodious, the large crew the whale ships carried, had to accustom themselves to the cramped and squalid conditions of the forecastle.

Life on board a whale ship was a continuous round of hardship from the moment the vessels entered the northern **seas**. Whenever a whale was sighted the boats had to be lowered regardless of the weather, perhaps for an all day fruitless chase. The unhappy crews returned to the ships so stiff and frozen that they were unable to climb on board, and frequently had to be hoisted up. Occasionally they were capsized and the men had to hang onto the bottom of the boat with cramped hands. until the whaling vessel could steam or sail to a windward position and pick them up, if the seas did not wash them off beforehand. Ships were frequently crushed in the ice and the crews left to die of exposure. The wreck of the LITTLE OHIO at Point **Hope** in the Fall of **1888** was one of many instances of the hardship and danger attendant on whaling in the Arctic. While homeward bound, a stray northerly gale forced her onto the coast and within a short time she went to pieces. Many of the crew were drowned, others were thrown on the beach. Of these, a dozen managed to find shelter in the wreckage **until** daylight when they were rescued by the personnel of the nearby land whaling station. The existence of the whaling station was a fortunate circumstance, because the Point Hope Eskimos at

for themselves nor the natives towards procuring food, [and] they were turned away. Then they applied to the captain of the schooner to be received back ! . . . There are now several deserters on shore, and their ships have left for the whaling grounds, and what the poor fellows will do when **the** long Winter's night, which is before them, comes on, the Lord only **knows. It** will be a mercy towards the deserters and act of humanity to have them arrested and taken aboard some vessel and compel them to leave the **country.**"¹³

The Arctic Cutter frequently picked up deserters. These, Mike **Healy** usually returned to their vessels, or to others that were short-handed, trading them **for, injured** seamen that had to be taken aboard the BEAR for medical treatment. In those instances that came to **Healy's** attention where crewmen were being particularly ill-treated, he would occasionally **issue** a warning to the master. In **1885** the master of the DAWN reported that three of his crew had deserted, and requested assistance in apprehending **them..** The day after the whaler sailed, the three men were taken off the beach, and claimed they had deserted because the of the brutal mistreatment they received at the hands of the **ship's** officers. When **Healy** returned the men to their vessel a few days later, "**the** officer [**taking** the men on board] was instructed to inform the captain of the charges, and to warn him that if there was any truth in them he would be held accountable by me, as it was a part of my duty to secure proper treatment of crews from their **superiors.**"¹⁴ Later, **Healy** seemed to become more hardened to conditions aboard the **whale** ships, and more inclined to ignore them.

of a bomb gun. The immense strength of the great animals could , be imagined from the record of a steamer in the vicinity of **Akutan** Island which struck a blue whale near the tail with a bomb harpoon which exploded but did not disable the giant. The wounded whale towed the steamer at the rate of four miles an hour for **16** hours, while the propeller of the ship was kept going reversed at half speed the entire **time. 4 whale** hunting **was not** without its seamen casualties, and the small boats that ventured too near, before the whale's strength was spent, could be **spintered** by the lashing tail flukes.

After the dead beast was towed to the whaler, all hands pitched in for the bloody labor that followed. A chain was passed through the spout hole and another secured to the flukes, while a temporary scaffolding over the side provided a working platform for the men to sever the head and strip off . the blubber from the carcass. The head when severed, was hauled onto the deck' and the baleen and oil extracted. The value of the baleen reached a price of **\$4** or **\$5** per pound during the peak years of Alaska whaling, and the product of a single **bowhead** could net as much as **\$18,000. 5**

Walrus were also hunted by the whalers, usually when whales were in short supply or **while** waiting for the Bering Sea ice to open and permit entry into the Arctic Ocean. They were killed with rifles, on the ice floes, or on their island breeding grounds. It **is** estimated that **200,000** were killed by the whalers between **1860** and **1880**, and the total number

been changed for almost four months. His fingernails were from a quarter to a half inch in length, his hair uncombed and his body covered with vermin. His left foot almost to the heel, was a mass of distorted, foul smelling, gangrenous tissue. Three fingers of his left hand were mere stubs. The great toe of his right foot was almost **well** and the frost bitten portions of his face and eyes entirely healed . . . gave the following **account** of himself. He was born in New York City, March **10th**, **1865**.. Shipped from San Francisco in ~~the~~ **ANDREW HICKS** on December **4th 1889**.. Arrived at the coal mine near Cape **Lisburne** about July **5**., **1890**., and in company with William **Howland**, deserted the ship on the **11th** of July . . . he was afterwards brought to the station by William **Howland** on the **11th** of April. After examination of the patient I find that it is necessary to amputate his left leg and three fingers of his left hand, operations which will endanger his life, considering the fact that through neglect, no treatment, 'little' food and bad quarters, his **vitality** is much reduced . . . He has been informed of his condition and has consented to the operation, knowing that he may not survive it and that it is [his] only chance for **life**.¹⁸

Mary **Healy** noted the incident in her Journal: "Captain received on board a poor unfortunate man with both feet and hands frozen. He remained all winter with the white men at the station and although a missionary who was Episcopal and claimed to be a physician and a Christian was near by, he received no attention ~~whatever~~".¹⁹ Mary **Healy** may have been unaware that, it was her husband who suggested to Dr. Sheldon Jackson that the teacher-missionaries refuse to harbor deserters because it would encourage other men to desert, expecting to find shelter at the mission schools. An example occurred when two deserters descended upon **W. T. Lopp** and William Thornton at Cape Prince of Wales, during the first Winter following the opening of their school. One of the two

thousands of whales killed by the American whale ships in Bering Sea, seriously depleted the resource. Inevitably, in **1848** the first American ship, the SUPERIOR of Sag Harbor, followed the whales through the Bering Straits into the Arctic Ocean, and others soon **followed**.³

. It was the **bowhead** or Greenland right whale which brought the New England whale hunters into the North Pacific. The great mammal **was** characterized by its ponderous head which made up one third of its entire length. The **bowhead** owed its commercial value to its prodigious yield of oil, up to **275** barrels, and its baleen or whale bone which could weigh as much as **3,500** pounds. The baleen of the **bowhead** **was** attached to its jaw in long, finely fringed layers, which projected downward and outward. These flexible sections of bone, running up to fourteen feet in length, lie flat along the upper jaw, and are an extension of the roof of the mouth. As **many** as **700** of the thin, tapering strips, aided the feeding process of the toothless mammal.

When attacked, the whales could dive to great depths, but the shallow waters of the Bering Sea provided less of a refuge than other **areas** of the Pacific Ocean. When an ice edge was near, the **Bowhead** frequently headed for the protection which it offered, thwarting its hunters in the process. The massive size of the **whale** **limited** the number of its predators, but the necessity for **surface** breathing made escape from its hunters difficult.

A specific **statutory** responsibility of the Revenue Marine **was** to suppress mutiny **aboard American vessels, and Healy was** frequently **called** upon to intervene when these situations threatened. Mutiny **was also rather loosely** interpreted on the whalers and other ships during this period. More often than not it **was a** mere **refusal** to work, **a** dispute over food, or conditions, on the ship. Sometimes the men would challenge their contracts of service, alleging that since they had not signed their "**Articles**" before a Shipping Commissioner, they were not legally binding. In these circumstances, it **was** usually sufficient to explain that the **peculiar nature** of their servitude under the "**Law,**" exempted them from this requirement, **as well as** the **provisions** governing **food** standards. Complaints of having *been* "**Shanghaied**" were **so common that** no **action** could be taken by the Revenue Marine officers in the North without denuding the crews of half the vessels of the fleet. It **was** nearly impossible to prove, in any event. The "**Articles**" if they could be produced, and many whaling skippers claimed that they. were in the hands of the Shipping **Masters** in San Francisco, often **revealed** indecipherable marks, or scrawled signatures, signed **and** forgotten due to the man's intoxication when brought **on board**. As **late as 1906,** instructions were issued to the commanders of the Arctic Cutter to **take no action** in these matters. **22**

Assaults on ship's officers were frequent enough, **as**

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MARITIME FRONTIER

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by

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were instances of arson, or disabling of a ship's engines or equipment. Where the culprits could be identified, and the Master of the whaler wanted to be rid of them, they were taken **on** the BEAR and set ashore at San Francisco without being prosecuted. The processes of 'justice was just too complicated and time consuming' to make it worth while. In some instances, simple justice, was administered by the Revenue Officers, and often took the form of "~~tricing up~~" recalcitrant or misbehaving ~~seamen.~~²³ This was the simplest, and usually an effective solution. That the practice was widespread during the late **19th** century, ~~is~~ borne out by the files of the Revenue Marine. When the **CORWIN** carried a large number of shipwrecked seamen out of the Arctic in **1885**, **Healy** reported to the Secretary of Treasury that to keep order he had been compelled to, "~~trice~~ up several of the ringleaders," after the men had refused to follow orders or conform to the ship's regulations. "**This** served as an example to the rest of ~~them.~~"²⁴ This evoked no particular comment at the time, although **Healy** did address the problem differently in later voyages. Then he would require shipwrecked seamen being transported by the BEAR to sign the ship's articles, and work their passage. In return for payment of **10** cents a month as wages, they were legally subject to shipboard discipline which was not much less rigorous than that encountered on the whalers.²⁵ The crews of the Revenue cutters were drawn from the same pool of Pacific Coast seamen, and were often

just as likely to be unruly. Discipline on the BEAR was enforced harshly, on **occasion.**²⁶ More often than not, it would occur when **Healy** was drinking, and his threshold of tolerance was at a low level.

But times were changing, and Mike **Healy** was soon to learn that the old forms of discipline; even if not specifically prohibited by law, could no longer be countenanced on the part of the government's own officers. At **Unalaska**, in June, **1889** Captain **Healy** sent Lieutenant Albert **Buhner** aboard the coal bark **ESTRELLA** when the master reported his crew was threatening mutiny. Thirteen of the crewmen were placed in irons until, they agreed to, "turn to." Later in July, when the cutter was anchored in Port Clarence, Captain. **Carrigan** of the WANDERER requested **Healy's** assistance in controlling his own mutinous crew. Again **Buhner** was sent with the master-at-arms, from the **BEAR.**²⁷ The surgeon, **Dr.** James Taylor White was called to the WANDERER later that evening: "**I** was sent for in great haste as one man had fainted. When I reached the bark I found that twenty one men had been placed in' double irons and "**triced** up.' One man had fainted and I **was** to see whether he had been injured or not. I considered his **a case** of fright, and as this is his first cruise, **I don't** think he will come to sea **again.**"²⁸

The incidents that took place on the **ESTRELLA** and WANDERER, during the cruise of **1889**, landed **Healy** in hot water early the following year. It began dramatically on **January 11,**

1890,, when a mass meeting was convened in San Francisco. Orchestrated by the recently **re-organized** West Coast Seamen's Union under the direction of Andrew **Furusetth**, its purpose was to protest Captain **Healy's** brutality and use of excessive force on vessels in **Alaska waters**. It was a convenient **opportunity**, as well, to call attention to important pending legislation, which threatened to reinstate civil arrest for deserting crewmen engaged in the coastwise trade. Mike **Healy** might well have considered himself a scapegoat for the dispute that was then boiling along the San Francisco waterfront. **Healy** served **Furusetth's** purpose admirably as a highly visible focus for deep-seated discontent. In fairness, it also could not be denied that Mike **Healy** had also made himself vulnerable. The protest meeting was fully reported by reporters from the San Francisco Morning Call who wrote that the seating capacity of the Metropolitan Temple was, "**thoroughly tested**" by the throng who gathered to, "condemn the **tricing-up** of three American seamen, Alfred **Holben**, Otto **Daeweritz**, and Roy **Framsden** at **Oonalaska** by Captain **Healy** of the United States Steamship **BEAR**."

The meeting opened when a band marched into the **auditorium**, followed by the members of the Coast Seamen's Union, in uniform, and the Brewery Workers Union carrying "[A] transparency displaying the picture of a **triced** up sailor and the words, "**The** Tortures of the Inquisition Revived by Captain **Healy**!" On the stage were officers of the Union, including

Furuset, several ministers and politicians, and Charles Sumner, Congressman from California. Captain **Healy's "victims"** occupied seats in the auditorium.. The proceedings began with a reading of **Holben's** affidavit, by the editor of the Coast **Seamen's Journal** who went on to tell the audience that American ships: "**[A]re known throughout the world as the most barbarous afloat. They are barbarous because such men as Healy are given authority.**" Congressman Sumner, followed the first speaker, and declared: "**If there is any place where gentleness and dignity should be exemplified it is on the deck of a navy vessel.**" Another speaker compared conditions in the American merchant marine with those in the British, "**[M]uch to the disadvantage of the former,**" and called upon Congress, "**to repeal all laws which give to officers the power to treat sailors as Captain Healy has treated the sailors who complained against him.***" The final speaker was a San Francisco **judge**, who insisted that Captain **Healy's** action- in ordering the "**tricing up**" of the seamen, was, "**unlawful**" and called for **Healy's** trial on charges of cruelty and inhumanity to seamen. A resolution was proposed and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS: Captain **Healy** of the U.S. Revenue Cutter **Bear** while cruising in Alaskan waters, has, during the **month** of June **1889**,, caused to be seized and tortured, in a most shocking manner, three inoffensive American Seamen who were employed on board of the bark **Estrella** ; ordering them **triced-up** with their hands shackled behind their backs, - and with ropes fastened to the handcuffs - suspended in such a position their toes just touched the deck, and:

WHEREAS: These unfortunate men, after being tortured as described, at one time for seven minutes and at another

time fifteen minutes, were then subjected to other intensely painful punishment, such as being chained to stanchions for **42** consecutive hours with handcuffs that were too small for their wrists, and:

WHEREAS: The sworn affidavits of the said seamen as well as the statements ~~of~~ eyewitnesses set forth that no cause whatever had been given to Captain **Healy** to subject men to such horrible treatment and that the only explanation ~~for his~~ unwarranted and brutal conduct was his almost continual state of **intoxication.**²⁹

The Seamen's Union of San Francisco, was the only labor organization in the country that represented the interests of seamen outside of the Great Lakes Region. Three previous attempts to organize had been unsuccessful. At the same time, the shipping interests were lobbying Congress to amend the Shipping Act of **1872** which had been interpreted by the Federal Courts as exempting the coastwise trade from the penalties for desertion. The Seamen's Union had used this exemption as an **effective** tool against the shipowners control over employment in the Bay Area. In effect, the owners were without their customary legal ~~protection, against~~ a sudden strike. The Seamen's Union had already initiated several, to protest attempts to reduce wages. On previous occasions, the striking seamen, denominated deserters, could be rounded up by the police and returned on board. This remedy was no longer available to the shipowners, and they were laying siege to Congress to have it restored.

Captain **Healy's** severe handling of seamen in the north was well known. It was recognized that while the conduct might not be illegal, the measures were questionable when utilized by government officers. Andrew **Furuset**, who was later to become

the best known exponent of the rights of American seamen, and, together with Senator **LaFollette**, **sheparded** the final passage of the Seaman's Act of **1915**; felt that **Healy's** actions provided a sufficient cause to rally labor interests in San Francisco in support of the seaman's cause. Unfortunately, it did not prevent Congress, later that year, from heeding the cry of the shipowners and amending the Shipping Act. The **1890** Act provided that if seaman in the coastwise trade was signed-on in the presence of a Shipping Commissioner, they were subject to the punitive clauses of the Act of **1872** for desertion and assaulting an officer. It also allowed Shipowners to appoint their own Commissioners, to assure the application of the **law**.³⁰

The Seamen's Union found they had a powerful allies in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and in **Healy's** well **known proclivity** for the bottle. Within a few days after the resolutions passed by the mass meeting, were forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mrs. **M.B. Eden**, W **C.T.U.** Superintendent for Work Among Sailors, **took up** the **cudgels**. Mrs. Eden, in a letter to the Treasury Secretary, accused Captain **Healy** of being, "**an** inebriate," who was often known to be in a drunken state for days at a time, while in command of the BEAR. In this condition **he**, "**has** been guilty of great cruelty towards the men on board the whalers **and** some of the merchant vessels." Even the lives of the crew of the cutter were endangered when, Mrs. Eden claimed: "**[Healy]** was too **drunk to** navigate, [and] had run the vessel aground? As evidence of her charges concerning

Healy's brutality, Mrs. Eden referred to the incident involving the WANDERER when twenty-three crew members had been **triced-up**, making it necessary to call the cutter's surgeon to attend them. In Mrs. Eden's view, the: "[U]navoidable hardships our brave Arctic sailors undergo have been greatly aggravated by Captain **Healy's** brutality. . . drink is responsible for the terrible sufferings that have been **caused**." ³¹

It was a strange, but effective alliance, and there was every reason to believe that it would accomplish its objective of drawing attention to the medieval conditions on board American ships. Secretary of Treasury, William **Windom**, could not ignore the charges, and ordered a Board of Investigation to convene in San Francisco to consider the **alleagions** against Mike **Healy**. The Board was composed of **T.G. Phelps**, Collector of the Port of San Francisco, Captain **J.W. White**, of the Revenue Marine, and Dr. **T. H. Bailhache**, of the Marine Hospital **Service**. ³² The composition of the Board, as subsequently would be shown, was favorable to **Healy**. **Phelps** was highly knowledgeable of Alaskan affairs, within whose jurisdiction the entire Alaska Customs, District lay. Dr. **Bailhache** as a member of the Marine Hospital Service was also aware of conditions on shipboard, and could not have been other than certain of where the real responsibility for these lay - with the outrageous laws and legal decisions which **countenanced** them. Captain **White**, in addition to making the first cruise to Alaska in **1867**, also commanded the cutters **RELIANCE**, **WAYANDA**, and **RUSH**, during

patrols in which there had been no legal authority whatever in the territory, and was aware that there had been precious little improvement in the interim. Captain White had also been **Healy's** commanding officer, when as a young Lieutenant, he made his first cruises in Alaska **waters..**

~~The~~ Board convened on March **3, 1890** and heard the testimony of forty two witnesses before adjourning on March **22..** The stenographic record of the proceedings reveal they were marred by an ineffective presentation on the part of the complaining witnesses. Subsequently Mrs. Eden would object to the Board's admission of hearsay evidence, and permitting the use of, "~~obscene~~ language" by Captain **Healy** in his **testimony.**³³ **H. W.** Hutton, the attorney hired by the **Seamen's** Union to prosecute the case on behalf of the ill-used mariners, also objected to the Board's accepting hearsay affidavits testifying to Captain **Healy's good** character and sobriety.

Mike **Healy's** defense sought to separate the two charges of his drunkenness, and the accusation of cruelty. The defense was successful in refuting the former by means of the testimony, and affidavits, of twenty-one witnesses, most of whom were masters of vessels engaged in Arctic whaling. It was fortunate for **Healy** that the ship's surgeon, Dr. White was **not** called. His Journal of the cruise substantiated **Healy's** almost continuous state of inebriation, throughout the **1889 voyage**³⁴ The **whaleship** skippers, whom **Healy** had always supported in the

disputes with their crewmen, came enthusiastically to his assistance. Their interest was clear, and there were important economic interests at stake. The Trial Board accepted the sworn testimony and the affidavits, and ruled: "We find the charge of drunkenness wholly ~~unsustained~~." ³⁵

Healy's defense against the charges of cruelty proved equally effective. Mike **Healy** admitted that the seamen of the **ESTRELLA** had been ~~triced-up~~, but the issue was shifted to the question to the strict legality of **Healy's** actions. Disciplinary measures, such as "~~tricing up~~," were not prohibited, by the current state of the law as punishment, "~~without~~ suitable cause." In the circumstances, **Healy** claimed they were also justified by the absence of other civil justice institutions. The testimony, in due course, revealed that the three complaining seamen were not the only ones to be so treated during the **1889** cruise. The incident of the **21** members of the **WANDERER's** crew being subjected to similar discipline on **Healy's** orders, was also brought out. Captain **Healy's** justification was that the course of conduct he followed was the, only remedy available to him, as- a means of quelling open or threatened mutiny.

Details of the **ESTRELLA** incident came out in the testimony. Captain **Healy** and his witnesses recounted that the master had requested aid and protection from the government vessel. During its voyage north, the **ESTRELLA** had run aground under circumstances which were suspiciously indicative of a

sabotage attempt on the part of the crew. The crewmen, also without permission, had quit the vessel shortly after reaching **Unalaska**, leaving it so short-handed that it had to be towed to the wharf. Several of the crewmen also assaulted one of the **ship's** officers. When the **BEAR** arrived, the master of the **ESTRELLA** reported to **Healy** that the crew threatened to kill him and his officers. The three ~~*complaining~~ witnesses, **Alfred Holben**, **Otto Daeweritz**, and **Roy Frandsen**, were singled out as the ringleaders.

Healy testified that ~~when~~ he boarded the **ESTRELLA** and attempted to investigate the charges by questioning the three, **Frandsen** told him: "**Go to Hell.**" Nonetheless, no action was taken at this point. A few hours later, as the cutter was preparing to move away from the dock where she had been taking coal from **ESTRELLA**, one of the coal laden bark's crew let go the wrong line. **Healy** recounted that when he asked why this was done, the answer given was: "**Shut** up, you have nothing to do with **us**." This reply, whether he was drunk or sober, was certain to have aroused **Healy's** Irish. **He** called his Master-at-Arms, and ordered him to go **aboard** the **ESTRELLA** and put the man in irons. This was attempted, but the man fled below deck and another crewman who made an insulting remark, was taken instead and returned to the **BEAR**.³⁶

The cutter, after disengaging, moved out into the harbor to tie up to a buoy. Later that **same** afternoon when Captain **Healy** was on shore, he was approached by an officer of **ESTRELLA**,

with the report that **Holben** and **Daerwitz** swore they would, "cut his [the officers] guts out." It was at this point that Lieutenant **Buhner**, First Officer of the BEAR, was ordered to arrest **Daerwitz** and put him in irons. As **Daerwitz** was being taken off, **Holben** said that he **wanted** to accompany him. Both were "**triced-up**," and after fifteen minutes, they were let down and shackled to a stanchion -for four and a half **hours**.³⁷

Although the incident on the WANDERER was not alleged in the official charges against **Healy**, in the course of the proceedings Lieutenant **Buhner** recounted that he acted under his captain's orders when he **triced** up twenty one men from that vessel as well, when they refused to work the ship. Before taking this action, the men were told they would remain **triced-up** until they resumed their duties, and were let down when they agreed to do so. Two men were attended by the cutter's surgeon,, but had merely fainted from fright, and had not been physically **injured**.³⁸ The cruelty inherent in the practice of "**tricing up**" was not denied by Captain **Healy**. The U.S. Navy had outlawed the practice in **1863**, along with the use of the "cat." However, **both-Healy** and **Buhner** testified that it was a customary practice in Alaskan waters, and was **well** suited to maintaining shipboard discipline in a frontier area. **Healy** explained that:

It is not a customary treatment except on frontier places. We are empowered by Congress to suppress mutinies. We have no right to exercise magisterial functions. Our functions as such are exercised by policemen. We must suppress mutinies. A policeman does

not sit in judgment on a man before he acts. That is our position. We are not allowed to hold trials . . . If a mutiny occurred at San Francisco, to quell a mutiny or disturbance, we would go and arrest the man, and turn him over to the police. But, up there, where there is no jail to **brin** men to, that is the last resort, to **trite** men up. 39

The verdict of the Board was fore-ordained. The manner of disciplining would have been legal and authorized if it had been performed by the Master of the vessel and was, "**not** without suitable cause." The Board observed in its findings that: "**[The crew of ESTRELLA]** were mutinous before reaching **port**; and were therefore rebellious and insubordinate: that there was no **Courts** or peace officers within reach of **Oonalaska**." They also found that Captain **Healy** had used: "**[E]very** reasonable effort to persuade the men to cease their insubordination before resorting to this extreme measure ... and their punishment was, therefore, justifiable."

To the members of the Board, **Healy's** actions seemed suited to the needs of the situation. In their findings, they specifically recognized the peculiar conditions existing in the far north, and the need for some expeditious method of enforcing discipline on board the vessels engaged in navigating these waters:

It **is** evident discipline must be enforced in these far off seas where dangers, on account of fogs and floating ice . . . for the protection of **property** and the **mutual** safety of the officers and seamen. 40

It would seem that the same observation might well have

been applicable to Captain **Healy's** alleged state of intoxication while in command of the BEAR, but the Board has succeeded in side-stepping this issue. **It, would** come up again. **Healy's** accusers were understandably upset by the verdict, and their letters to Secretary **Windom** reflect their dismay at what they considered a whitewash. Mrs. **M.B.** Eden attacked both the investigation and the Board's verdict as being a foregone conclusion due to ~~their~~ partiality to the **defendant.**⁴¹

Although cleared of the charges, Secretary **Windom** instructed **Healy** that "[I]n the future, should you be called on to suppress mutinous or refractory seamen on **board ship,** in the waters of Alaska or elsewhere, out of the reach of the civil authorities, you should resort to some other and less harsh mode of **punishment.**"⁴²

It would be simplistic in the circumstances to render a moral judgment on **Healy's** conduct. It was not significantly out of tune with the reality of the harsh working conditions on board American vessels during this period. These however, greatly lagged behind the times. Whereas the conditions of the American working man were generally improving during the last decade of the **19th** century, what can only be described as medieval practices continued to persist in the U.S. maritime trades. **Healy** was too closely associated with the narrow interests of the masters and ship owners, and these considerations obscured his perception of where his professional duty lay. In the long run, it did him a

disservice. He had escaped the consequences of his own weakness, and failed to perceive how it was becoming increasingly difficult for him to be effective as a ship commander during the extended and dangerous voyages north. He was also blinded by his own perception of his past services.

Healy's friend, Captain Leonard **Shepard**, was ~~now the~~ captain Commandant of the Revenue Marine. **Shepard** was familiar with the true facts concerning the charges. He was in command of the RUSH at **Unalaska**, the **preceeding** July, when **Healy** made a courtesy visit to his vessel, in an intoxicated condition. His letter to **Healy**, after the Board's findings were announced, clearly must have threatened the loss of command of the BEAR. The original letter cannot be found in the files **of** the Revenue Marine Bureau, but **it's** tenor is apparent from **Healy's** reply:

Your letter of **21st** received. I take your advice in everything. I honor your frankness, and admire your friendship and pledge you by all I hold most sacred that while I live never to touch intoxicants of any kind or description It is a duty I owe myself, my friends and the service, and you personally, Rest assured that nothing will alter the determination that out of all **this** trouble good will come to me. One thing I **will** hate and that is to give up my command of the BEAR. **I** love the ship, **tho** [it is] hard work. By my return I think the **Seaman's** Union will **have** ⁴³ relented, however, that is a long time hence.

Notes

1. Captain **OXC.** Hamlet to **Secty...**, Treasury, 20 November 1906; Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives
2. Crewmen shipping under the "**Lay**" are still exempt from **most** of the Navigation and Seamen's Acts. **18 U.S.C.A.** Sec. 544,, exempts whaling seamen, **and** provides: "Except in any case the seamen are by custom or agreement entitled to participate in ~~the profits~~ or results of a cruise or voyage? For information concerning the "**Lay**" the best source is: **Hohman**, The American Whaleman, 217-243. As a result of the events in the Arctic in 1906 the Revenue Marine recommended that the Navigation and **Seamen's** Acts be amended **to** do away with the "**Lay**" as an exemption from the application of the statutes,' but this was opposed by the Secretary of Commerce. Commissioner **E.T. Chamberlin** to Capt. Worth Ross, 14 November 1907; Charles W. Clifford to **Capt.** Worth Ross, 6 February 1908; Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives
3. Captain **OXC.** Hamlet to **Secty...**, Treasury, 20 November 1906,, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives,
4. **Brower**, Forty Years in the Arctic, 73-74,,
5. Captain **O.C. Hamlet** to **Secty...**, Treasury, 20 November 1906,, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.
6. Ibid,,
7. Quotation from Paul **S.** Taylor, The **Sailor's** Union of the Pacific, (New York: Dodd Mead, 1923),, 24.
8. U.S. Statutes at Large, **Ch. 119**, 1898,. The White Act approved by Congress on December 13,, 1898,, abolished imprisonment for desertion from American vessels while they were in any port of the United States, Corporal punishment was also prohibited **and** there were provisions which required the master of a vessel to surrender subordinates who were charged by crewmen with having inflicted corporal punishment. The White Act is generally considered to have resulted from the incidents of the Spanish American War which brought public attention to the deplorable conditions on American vessels and the consequent reduction of the number of Americans in the sea-faring trades.
9. San Francisco Chronicle, - 20 September 1894..
10. San Francisco Chronicle, 15 October 1885,, reporting the arrival of the **CORWIN** with 67 rescued seamen aboard, stated:

Mutiny and discontent were **rife** among the undisciplined throng, ~~who~~ imagined they had the officers at a disadvantage. Officers **and** men were mustered on the quarter deck under arms and the mutineers were seized, **triced** up and otherwise disciplined. Bread and water **was** served to them **as a** soothing tonic, **all** of which had the desired effect and peace reigned.

11.. Walter Nobel Burns, "**Uncle Sam's 'Floating Court'**", Wide World Magazine ; 5 (~~(1914)~~), ~~259-269~~. The incident involved Captain **A.J.** Henderson, who commanded THETIS, in the cruise of **1907**. At this time THETIS **was a** vessel of the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, having been transferred from the US. Navy.

12.. Arthur James Allen, A Whaler & Trader in the Arctic 1895-1944, (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Co., **1978**), **26**.

13.. Borden to **Secty.**, Treasury, **24 August 1890**, Refuge Station Correspondence, **RG 26**, National Archives.

14.. **Healy**, Cruise of **Corwin 1885**, **10**

15.. Journal of Mary **Healy**, **9 August 1891**; **Healy** to **Secty.**, Treasury, **13 September 1891**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

16.. **Healy** to **Secty.**, Treasury, **17 September 1891**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

17.. **Healy** to **Secty.**, Treasury, **15 September 1890**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

18.. Dr. Call to **Healy**, **9 July 1891**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

19.. Journal of Mary **Healy**, **29 July 1892**.

20.. Sheldon Jackson to Minor Bruce, **29 August 1892**, Sheldon Jackson Papers.

21 **Healy** to **Secty.**, Treasury, **30 September 1890**, Alaska File: **RG 26**, National Archives.

22.. Captain **O.C.** Hamlet to **Secty.**, Treasury, **14 November 1904**; **5 October 1905**; **20 August, 20 November 1906**; Captain **E.T.** Henderson to **Secty.**, Treasury, **12, 27, July; 5 October 1907**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.. These reports document conditions, **as** well as the assertion that no action **was** taken concerning most of the crewmen's complaints. In **1905** eight steamers and three schooners were caught again in the

Arctic. No fears were expressed for their safety, but the Royal Canadian Mounted Police sent a series of reports concerning the conditions on the whalers to the U.S. Consul at Dawson. These were forwarded to the Secretary of Treasury. The R.C.M.P. reported instances of brutal treatment of crewmen on the ice locked vessels. The ~~brief~~ scurry of official activity was focused primarily upon preventing abuses to the Eskimos and really ~~didn't~~ improve conditions on the whaling ships.

23! "Tricing up" was a centuries old form of punishment at sea. The man's hands were first bound, and he was hoisted off his feet with a line attached to the wrists. It was a painful procedure which could result in shoulder dislocation if protracted.

24.. Healy to Secty, Treasury, 3 November 1888,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

25.. Healy to Secty, Treasury, 6 July 1891,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives. This was in compliance to Secretary Windom's instructions to utilize other means than "Tricing up." See, fn. 42,, ante.

26.. San Francisco Chronicle, 17 November 1889.. There are few references in Healy's Trip Reports to disciplinary action taken against cutter crewmen. This newspaper article reports that the BEAR's complement accused Captain Healy of "half starving" them, and of exercising severe discipline.. Generally, Healy was popular with his enlisted men, but not with many of his younger his officers.

27.. Master-at-Arms is the ship's policeman.

28.. White, Diary of the Cruise of the Revenue Steamer Bear in 1889, ((Diary entry July 8, 1889))..

29.. San Francisco Call, . 12 January 1890..

30. U.S. Statutes at Large, 1890, Ch. 801, Act of August 19, 1890.. During a shipping strike in San Francisco in 1893 the provisions of the act were rigorously enforced by the owners. By 1892 the Seamen's Union had lost the fight with the shipowners, and a bombing that occurred in September 1893 resulted in their loss of public support. The years 1891-1898 were years of complete failure for the San Francisco Seamen's Union, but they had some successes in legislation.. Judge James G. Maguire was elected to Congress, with the help of the Union, and introduced a series of bills in 1894 to ameliorate seamen conditions. The subsequent Maguire Act codified in 18 USCA Sec. 563,, abolished imprisonment for desertion in the Coastwise trade, but was later emasculated by judicial

interpretation. Attempts to extend its application failed. The White Act adopted in **1898** was an amended version of the earlier **Maguire** bills.

31. Eden to **Secty.. Windom**, **29 January 1890**, Report in **Re:: Case of Captain M. A. Healy**, **M-174V. 59** Revenue Marine Records, **RG 26**, National Archives. Hereafter: Report in **Re:: Case of Captain M. A. Healy**. [All correspondence is contained in the file.]

32. Asst. **Secty.. Tichenor** to **Healy**, **10 February 1890**; **Tichenor** to **Phelps**, **20 February 1890**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

33. Eden to **Secty.. Windom**, **24 March 1890**, Report in **Re:: Case of Captain M.A. Healy**.

34. White, Diary of the Cruise of the Revenue Steamer Bear in 1889, "[S]teaming along in **Behring** Sea with a Drunken commander." (Diary entry 2 July); "**The** Captain came on deck this morning for the first time since leaving **Oonalaska**. I have seen rocky looking people, but he is the rockiest **I** ever saw. He got an idea he saw land, saw the mountains with snow on them and thought all were blind for not seeing the same . . . the land he thought he saw was about **40** miles away with a fog bank in front of **it**." (Diary entry 5 July); "**The** Captain appears about crazy and is almost blind. He has drunk four gallons of my whiskey besides his own **and as** much more from the whalers, beer and wine not counted. This makes four weeks of continuous **drunk**," (Diary entry 26 July); White also observed that **Healy's** intoxication had resulted in his issuing orders which were "**illlogical**," "**stupid**," and "dangerous."

35. Report in **Re:: Case of Captain M. A. Healy**, 4 of Transcript.

36. Ibid., **210**.

37. Ibid., **113-114**.

38. Ibid., **115**.

39. Ibid., **210-211**.

40. Ibid., **2**.

41. Eden to **Secty.. Windom**, **24 March 1890**, in: Report In **Re:: Case of Captain M.A. Healy**.

42. Asst. **Secty.. Tichenor** to **Healy**, **23 April 1890**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

43. **Healy** to **Shepard**, **28 April 1890**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

CHAPTER XI

MIKE **HEALY** AND SHELDON JACKSON

The Revenue steamer BEAR, riding at anchor off the Seattle waterfront in May, **1890**, was awaiting final sailing orders. Not all of the Seattle docks had yet been restored after the disastrous fire which struck the community less than a year earlier. Sixty six blocks of the town's prime business district was laid to waste, and all but one of the waterfront piers. The cutter sent its boats ashore for the passengers that would be carried on the cruise to Alaska that year. The **1890** voyage was to bring Captain Mike **Healy** into close association with one of the most remarkable men in the early history of Alaska, Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Protestant, middle class in origin, well educated and possessed of unlimited self confidence and dynamism, Jackson had many of the attributes of the moral and ethical elite that characterized the American Progressive movement in this period of American history. A native of New York, Jackson was ordained in the Presbyterian Ministry in **1858**, and began his missionary work among the Indian tribes in the west the following year. By **1884** he had become Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in an area that comprised the future states of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.

In **1877** Jackson visited Alaska to survey the territory for its possibilities as the site for additional mission

schools, and returned there in **1884** to devote the rest of his life to missionary and educational work. In **1885**, he was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction for Alaska. His achievements in the Rocky Mountain states, both as a pioneer missionary and as an **educator** were more than duplicated during his later years in Alaska. Schools were ~~opened~~ **opened** by Jackson as rapidly as equipment, funds and teachers, could be made available. Because of the niggardly appropriations from Congress, most of the teachers he employed were missionaries, and the schools themselves were supported in large measure by the denominational groups which provided the teachers. Much of Jackson's time was spent in Washington, **D.C.** where he maintained his residence for six months out of the year, close to Congress and the federal agencies with whom much of his work was carried on. Jackson also proved himself an indefatigable publicist for Alaska. As a lecturer, he was much in demand, and was frequently sought out by members of Congress who needed information concerning the problems of the northern territory. A friend of Presidents Garfield and Harrison, and **a, life** long Republican, Jackson often influenced decisions in the appointment of territorial officials. The Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison had also named William **Torrey** Harris as Federal Commissioner of Education in **1888**. **Harris** was to prove an enthusiastic supporter of Jackson in pursuing his combined missionary-educational goals in Alaska.

In the summer of **1889**, Lieutenant Commander Charles **R.** Stockton, **U.S.N.** commanded the **U.S.S.** THETIS, accompanying the BEAR to the Arctic transporting stores and building materials for the construction of the Refuge Station at Point Barrow. Stockton, member of an old naval family whose father had been instrumental in ~~securing~~ California for the United States during the Mexican War, had highly placed friends in the nation's capital. It **was** Stockton's first experience in command of a vessel in the Arctic. The impressions gained during the voyage, particularly concerning the needs of the aboriginal population of Alaska, may well have been influenced by **his** conversations with his Revenue Marine counterpart, Mike **Healy**. In any event, upon returning to San Francisco, Stockton wrote Commissioner Harris calling his attention to the, "degraded condition of the **Esquimaux** in Northern **Alaska**." ¹¹ The degradation to which Stockton referred, was largely a white man's product as the Revenue Marine officers had pointed out in their own reports. Stockton however, operating outside of Treasury Department channels, was able to bring the problem directly to the attention of Commissioner Harris and through him, to Sheldon Jackson, two men who were likely to do something **about it**. **Stockton's** observation that the problem was both, "~~sudden~~ and **urgent**," ¹⁸ accompanied his recommendation that schools be established on the Arctic coast. Stockton was convinced the schools were needed as an aid in preserving the unique Eskimo culture against the depraving **influence** of the

white man.

Harris and Jackson agreed with Stockton, but such remote locations could only be **re-supplied** once a year, and the only possibility of staffing them was to employ missionary **teachers.**² Jackson began, the following spring, to solicit applications from prospective teachers by advertising in the religious press, "**for** two or three gentlemen teachers for that distant **field.**"³ The most important location for one of the new schools, **was** to be Point Barrow. In March 1890, on Jackson's recommendation, Commissioner Harris asked the Presbyterian Board of Missions to accept a contract for the operation of the Point Barrow **school.**⁴ The Board **was less** than pleased when Dr. Jackson prematurely announced that his church had agreed to undertake the, "**Point Barrow Challenge.**" Often, in the **past**, he had forced their hand in making **commitments** to Alaska. They reluctantly agreed to support teachers at Barrow and Point Hope, when it was learned Jackson had already obtained promises from prominent lay persons to contribute to funding the positions. The American Congregational Church Missionary Society also agreed to provide two teachers at Cape Prince of Wales.'

The establishment of three new schools on the Arctic Coast coincided with Jackson's own desire to make his first visit to Western Alaska. On Harris's prompting, the Secretary of the Interior requested Treasury Department authorization for Dr. Jackson to be carried on the BEAR. It **was** perceived

that Mike **Healy's** wealth of knowledge of the Arctic, and his sympathy with any effort to improve the conditions for the Eskimos of Alaska would be of inestimable value to the success of the undertaking. Captain Stockton sent his own expression **of** support, in a letter to Captain **Shepard**, asking that Dr. Jackson be allowed passage on ~~the cutter~~⁶. **Shepard agreed**, and the necessary orders were issued to Mike **Healy**. It was the beginning of what was to become a partnership, extending well into the **20th** century, between the Revenue Cutters and the Department of Interior in an undertaking that would aid in preserving the lives and culture of the native people of the western coastline of Alaska.

The cruise that began at Seattle in June, **1890**, was also the beginning of a personal association between Sheldon Jackson and Mike **Healy**. Jackson's biographer, Dr. Theodore **Hinckley** described it as his, "Arctic Manifest Destiny," marking a continuation of his work in the west, and a turning point in Jackson's already eventful career. From **1890** until his death, much of Jackson's formidable energy would be devoted to what ~~was~~ to become known as the "Reindeer Project."⁷ Both men undoubtedly were known to each other, at least by reputation, prior to **1890**, although there is no reference to an earlier acquaintance in their surviving letters. Their cruise together that year was to nourish a warm friendship between two men whose personalities were in many respects so different, but who shared common humanitarian

interests. The clean air of the Arctic became an annual experience for Jackson, and the Irish Revenue Officer's wealth of information concerning the needs of the Eskimo and **Aleut** peoples that broadened the missionary educators' knowledge. Jackson was able to become an even more effective and articulate advocate for the territory's interests in Washington.

The other passenger that joined the BEAR in Seattle, was Henry Wood Elliott. Elliott was commissioned by Congress to study and report on the condition of the fur seal herds. Mike **Healy** knew Elliott, **and** this year he would try, unsuccessfully as it turned **out**, not to become involved in the controversies which inevitably seemed to surround him. Henry Elliott played an important role in the long struggle for the preservation of the Alaska fur seals, and has often been portrayed as a man with a peculiar monomania. Today with a growing awareness that the resources of the nation are not unlimited, Elliott has come to be recognized as one of America's **first, great** conservationists.

~~Henry Wood~~ Elliott might not have appeared a likely candidate for the role of saving the Alaska fur seal from extinction. Forty four years of age in **1890**, he was a slender man of medium **height** whose frail health prevented his completing a high school education. A self-taught, and accomplished artist, his father succeeded in obtaining a temporary position for him on the staff of the Smithsonian

Museum in **1860**. Elliott first visited Alaska in **1866** as a Smithsonian field scientist accompanying the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, surveying a route for a projected Russian-American Telegraph line. Returning in **1871** as the Treasury Department Agent responsible for overseeing the operations of the Alaska Commercial Company on ~~the Pribilof~~ **the Pribilof** Islands, he began his lifelong study of the fur **seals**.⁸

Elliott carried out the first census of the seal population. Although most men would have found the task as bewilderingly impossible as counting an active hive of bees, Elliott had no trouble in assessing the herd. He assumed that each seal required two square feet, a very small space indeed, on rookeries which he calculated to include a total of **6.3** million square feet. This resulted in his estimate of a total population of at least **4,700,000** animals. Elliott's pride became locked to this calculation which proved greatly inflated. In fact, his figures would prove **300** percent too **high**.⁹ When he returned to the **Pribilofs** that summer of **1890**, Elliott discovered that the total number of seals on the rookery **beaches** were at best, **only** **some 20** per cent of his earlier census. Outraged, he would accuse the lessee of destroying the breeding capacity of the males by driving them to the slaughter grounds, a biologically absurd conclusion which provoked bewildered astonishment' in Washington.

Elliott had failed, as others had, **to** recognize the steady decline of the herd in the **last** decade of the Alaska

Commercial Co.. lease. The emergence of the new menace of pelagic sealing and the steady inroads which were being made upon the herds by the growing fleet of sealing schooners, **was** an important factor in the decline. But the combination of **land** sealing at the Alaska Commercial Co. rate also was leading to the inevitable doom of the herds unless something was done, and **quickly.** ~~The~~ Government paid little attention to the pelagic hunters until the mid **1880's** when the warning signal was sounded by their agents on the islands. The herds were rapidly diminishing and it was assumed that the only danger was due to pelagic sealing. Little thought was given to the land harvest which had continued unabated.

Elliott spent most of the intervening years at his home in Ohio, writing and publishing in **1886**, his major work: Our Arctic Province, Alaska and the Seal Islands. In the Spring of **1890** Elliott received his commission to investigate the situation in the **Pribilofs**, and now he **was** returning on the BEAR. Captain Mike **Healy** did not like Henry Elliott, personally. During earlier voyages, Elliott **had managed** to irritate **Healy** by: "~~Ajcting~~ as though he was in command of the **ship**" and, "thought nothing of bringing his muddy boots into the wardroom/¹⁰ **Healy** did not take issue with **Elliott's** interest in preserving the fur seals, and shared his concern for the inroads made by the pelagic sealers. But **Healy's** was an entirely more pragmatic view, to him the seals represented a valuable resource that should be preserved for

American exploitation. **Healy** would probably not have disagreed with a suggestion made later, that all of the seals should be killed and their furs harvested, since it was inevitable that the herds were doomed to extinction in any event.

Healy and Captain **Hooper** had both warned of the threatened extinction of the **sea** otter, which had apparently come to pass by **1890**. Now, like other Revenue Marine officers, he was more guarded in expressing his opinions. Their warnings had been given scant attention in Washington. Now Elliott, a dilettante scientist in **Healy's** view, clothed with special powers from Congress, superseding even those of the Treasury officials on the islands, **was** coming to assess the danger and propose solutions. **Healy** also suspected that Elliott had little interest in the development of the territory, and favored maintenance of the economic status quo. That there were no worthwhile resources in Alaska, aside from the fur seals, seemed to have been the impression Elliott conveyed in his book. It is also unlikely, given what is known of Elliott's personality **and** single-mindedness that he would have been interested in changing any opinion Mike **Healy** might have of him. Mary **Healy** did not warm to Elliott during their voyage **together**, and her Journal mentions him only in the briefest terms.

Henry Elliott subsequently **was** to be highly critical of the efforts made by the U.S. Government to reach an accommodation with Great Britain in the settlement of the

sealing dispute. He particularly singled out for his ~~ascerbic~~ barbs John W. Foster who later was to serve as the State Department's Special Commissioner on Fur Seal Questions. All of this would come later after Elliott had failed in his bid to be appointed one of 'the U.S. representatives to the ~~International~~ ~~Tribunal~~.

The BEAR, already famous for its adventures in the north, was an infrequent visitor to Seattle and **it's** arrival attracted a large number ~~of~~ visitors. The cutter was opened to the public on **May 14,,** and Captain **Healy** hosted a luncheon for the Chamber of Commerce which was reciprocated a few days later with an invitation to the opening of the Chambers' reconstructed downtown offices. Mary **Healy,,** was at **first** hesitant to accept, Finally she agreed to go ashore and had, "a most enjoyable ~~time.~~" "The city,,," she observed, "is very beautifully situated, **as** it commands from all sides **a** grand marine view. At present the streets are in **wild** confusion owing to the building in every direction since the fire When the streets are properly cleaned, it will be a very pretty city, and ~~no~~ doubt in time will be what the inhabitants now look forward to: The Metropolis of **Puget Sound**!"¹¹ The time ~~would also~~ come when the city would succeed, during the Yukon Gold Rush, in obtaining an economic strangle hold on Alaska which it would retain until the mid **20th** century.

Healy's orders arrived at the end of May. The pelagic sealing dispute with Great Britain ~~over~~ the seizure of

Canadian schooners in Bering Sea was at its **height**. To avoid a confrontation between U.S. Revenue cutters and British warships, the Secretary of State had agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration. In the meantime further seizures by the **U.S** cutters were to be curtailed. **Healy** was instructed by the Secretary of Treasury that pending the negotiations that had been undertaken with Great Britain: "[Y]ou will **not** during the present cruise board nor seize any foreign vessel unless' found engaged in taking seals within three marine miles of land belonging to the United **States**." ¹²

First Lieutenant Albert **Buhner** served as **Healy's** second in command during the **1890** voyage. A veteran officer, **Buhner** had sailed with **Healy** since **1883**, and would himself one-day command a cutter in the north. Among the other officers, was Second Lieutenant Donald **H. Jarvis**, who would also become famous for his adventures in Alaska. "Everyone seemed in excellent spirits," Mary **Healy** recounted, "**and** I too felt happy to have been granted the privilege to accompany my husband on his long and perilous voyage to the Arctic and Siberian **coast**." ¹² On June 2 the BEAR steamed out of Elliot Bay with its passengers. At Port Townsend, the Olympic Peninsula port city, headquarters of the Revenue Marine in the Pacific Northwest, whistles and flags bid them good sailing to Alaska. Mary **Healy** observed Port Townsend from the bridge of the cutter, and noted the many changes that had occurred in the community since they last visited there. Where, only two

years earlier she had considered it, "**so** forlorn and desolate,*' now it was quite a large town with many new residences and, "seemed alive and **thrilling**."¹³

Excellent weather marked the first nine days of the voyage north. Two days before reaching **Unalaska**, the weather turned stormy, but Mary **Healy** and Dr. Jackson, who had struck up a firm friendship, found an agreeable place on deck, seated next to the warmth of the smoke stack. **Unimak** Island, astride one of the principal Aleutian passes, came into view on June **120** and next morning they entered Bering Sea. The storms, fog and rough **seas** of the **preceeding** days seemed to disappear as the BEAR approached **Unalaska**. When the cutter drew up alongside the Alaska Commercial Co. wharf, a throng of visitors came on board. Each year, the arrival of the Arctic Cutter was the occasion for a celebration in the moribund Aleutian community. In a few **years**, the harbor would be crowded with the warships of several nations, and the BEAR would no longer be a celebrity.

Dr. Jackson's time **was** taken up during the three days of the **BEAR's stay**, in meetings with **Mr.** and **Mrs.** John A. Tuck, Presbyterian missionaries in charge of the Jessie Lee boarding school at **Unalaska**, but he **had** time to be introduced by **Healy** to the manager of the Alaska Commercial Co. for the Aleutians. The **ACC was** still the principal trading company in Alaska even though, a year earlier, they had **ldst** the lease for the exploitation of the fur seals on the **Pribilof** Islands.

Jackson was favorably impressed with the company operations. "More than any purely commercial company of which I have any knowledge the Alaska Commercial Company dealt humanely with the native population"¹⁴

On June 17 the cutter was underway again to **Bogoslav Island**, to investigate the changes that had occurred there during the **preceeding** winter. **Healy** was informed at **Unalaska**, that new volcanic activity had caused several new islands to rise from the sea. Information concerning these would be necessary to correct the navigational charts of the North Pacific. **Bogoslav** Island first appeared in the Bering Sea on May 18, 1796 when the inhabitants of **Unalaska**, fifty miles away, were startled by distant explosions and the rumbling shocks of an earthquake. Next morning an island two miles long with a volcanic cone 2300 feet in elevation, had appeared. The first landing and official American investigation of the volcano was made in May 1883 by Captain **Healy**.¹⁵ In February, 1890, the sky again was obscured by volcanic ash falling on **Unalaska**. A whaler arrived a few days later, to report the appearance of four new islands near **Bogoslav**, and these were the formations **Healy** was enroute to investigate.

Long before the **BEAR** reached **Bogoslav**, white clouds of steam were visible. As the cutter approached, **Healy** was puzzled by the absence of familiar landmarks. The two volcanic cones were present, but the tall rock rising 875 feet out of the water, originally charted and named Ship Rock by Captain

Cook in **1778**, had disappeared. **Healy** ordered two seamen into the chains for sounding **as** the BEAR slowly steamed towards the volcanic island. Over the roar of the breakers, the seamen called out, "~~no~~ bottom at seventeen," where previously the cutter had anchored in eight fathoms of water. The floor of the **sea** had fallen out, carrying with it Ship Rack, and ~~the~~ four islands reported **only** a few weeks earlier by the passing whaler. The BEAR steamed over the spot where Ship Rock had stood for the past **100** years, a familiar navigation point to Bering Sea mariners. High winds made it impossible to land on **Bogoslaw**, and it **was** a frustrating experience for the scientifically curious Dr. Jackson.

The BEAR changed course, northeast towards the Seal Islands. St. George, one of the two largest islands of the **Pribilof** group came in view on June **18**, but weather conditions here too, made it impossible to put a boat ashore. There was no satisfactory harbor for ships to discharge cargo anywhere in the **Pribilofs**. All commerce with the islands was carried on over the open **beaches**, frequently under dangerous conditions of surf ~~and tide~~. It **was** sometimes necessary for company vessels, attempting to load the annual harvest of seal skins in the fall, to remain two months or more in the vicinity before the **weather would abate** sufficiently to allow the cargo to be loaded. On the south side of St. George island, near Garden Grove, a landing **seemed** possible. Dr. **Jackson** with five of the ship's officers **and** a rowing party, started for the

shore in the cutter's launch. The pounding surf prevented a landing at the place selected, and the launch **was** finally run ashore at the base of a high cliff. As the party **was** in the midst of congratulating themselves on their safely reaching the beach, a **wave** struck the boat and threw it onto the rocks, staving two ~~holes~~ ²⁰ the bottom. Two sailors were left with **the** damaged craft while the others scaled the sheer **600** foot bluff. Jackson described his climb: "**From** time to time, to get my breath, I would dig the heel of my boots securely into the earth, and there lie on my back with closed eyes. Whenever I allowed myself to look down or to **sea**, my head became dizzy, and I had the sickening sensation of being about to roll down the precipice. At last I reached the top, but too exhausted to continue to the **village.**"¹⁶

Later in the day, after temporary repairs were made, the cutter **was** brought to the edge of the breakers on driftwood rollers. Jackson climbed in while the officers and seamen ranged themselves along each side to await a favorable moment. When the time came, at the word of command, they rushed up to **their** waists into the frigid water, "throwing themselves into the launch and seizing the oars, all pulling for dear life. After two breakers were past, they were safe but drenched to the **skin.**" As they climbed back aboard the BEAR, the **anchor was already** being raised, and the cutter **was** soon steaming towards St. Paul Island, **36** -miles distant.

The neat arrangement of the village of St. Paul

presented a more pleasing and inviting appearance to Sheldon Jackson's eye than any place he had thus far visited in his Alaska travels. Built by the Alaska Commercial Co. during the period of its lease, the village included several **large** houses, now occupied ~~by the~~ officers of its competitor, the North American Commercial Co. The school house, church and neatly ranged cottages of the **Aleut** residents were situated on the side of a gently sloping **ridge**.¹⁷ From the deck of the cutter the white frame buildings on the green turf of the island presented a pleasing vista. Henry W. Elliott was anxious to land so that he could begin his work. He would remain to conduct the studies that brought him to Alaska and prepare his report concerning the depletion of the fur seal herds. After the launch deposited Elliott on the beach, they returned with the company agents and treasury officers, anxious to receive the first mail of the year. They also promised **Dr** Jackson to make his visit to the island that afternoon, an enjoyable and interesting experience.

The annual seal killing was already in progress. Treasury Agent Charles **J. Goff**, responsible for supervising the administration of the government lease, accompanied Jackson to the killing grounds, to witness the harvesting of the seals. Jackson's journal recorded the killing ritual which had not been changed for the **preceeding 100** years, and **was to be** little altered in the **20th** century. A band of **200-300** seals were herded together, and fifteen to twenty were selected and

driven a few yards from the main group. Four or five **Aleuts** with long clubs selected those of suitable size and age, and killed them with a single blow to the head. The men with the clubs were followed by others with knives, who stabbed the seals to allow the blood to flow, following which the skinning men removed the pelt with its thick **layer** of adhering fat. Others separated the fat and took the pelts to the salting house where they were carefully counted, and salted down,.

While the seal harvest was proceeding, women and children from the village gathered the masses of fat, and flesh, which they carried to the village in skin bags for rendering *or* cutting into long strips to be dried. The meat and oil stuffed into huge sausages, formed from the **stomaches** of sea lions, was stored **away** for winter use. Dr. Jackson visited the school, the lessee **was** required to provide under the terms of their contract with the government. He found it closed. Owing apparently to the opposition of the Russian priest to the children's learning English, little progress **was** being made in educating the **Aleut** children. The Presbyterian educator was **unable** to find a single child who could converse with him.

Henry **Elliott**, joined Jackson on his island tour, pointing out the previously thriving rookeries which now were only sparsely populated. Later that afternoon when **Healy** came ashore, the Treasury agent and Elliott were observed by Jackson, engaged in an animated discussion with the commander

of the cutter. They were soon joined by the fur company representatives. Jackson subsequently learned that Elliott ~~was~~ anxious to have **Healy** accompany him to inspect the rookeries and confirm the opinion, already expressed to Jackson, that the seal population was so seriously depleted that land killing should be halted. Although a harvest of **50,000** skins had been authorized that year, Elliott felt the herd would not support such a large killing. It was still too early in the season, **Healy** thought, to make a judgment of the size of the herd that would ultimately haul onto the rookeries. Later, after the BEAR departed, Elliott was able to convince Agent **Goff** to order a halt to the killing on July **20**.. Only **20,000** seals would be harvested by the lessee in **1890**., and this would subsequently lead to a protracted legal dispute between the U.S. Government and the North American Commercial **Company**.¹⁸

Later that year, **Healy** was directed by the Secretary of Treasury to report any knowledge he had of the controversial decision to terminate the seal harvest. **Healy** recounted his earlier ~~conversations~~ with Elliott in June, and that in September, when the cutter returned to the islands, he had considered making an inspection of the rookeries, but found such a great amount of acrimony had arisen between Elliott, Agent **Goff** and the company representatives, that: "**I** did not think it was wise to make an unsolicited visit, and my observations, might just add to the ~~confusion~~!" **Healy** agreed

there was a noticeable overall decline in the fur seal population, but felt that it was impossible to say that the number of seals in **1890** was significantly less than the preceding year. "**Were** it possible to count the seals every **year**; the decrease would be, as noticeable in figures, as it is to the eye. Yet I think it a very well established fact that there is a wide **difference** in the number of seals hauling upon the islands in different seasons, also much difference as to the date of their coming and leaving the islands. So one year cannot be cited as a criterion for **another**."

Healy was hesitant to give an opinion concerning an allowable kill: "**I** do not believe any living man could exactly **say**. There are so many contingencies that occur beyond our control or **conjectures**!" Nor would he **recommend** that all land killing be terminated as had been suggested by Elliott.

To stop entirely taking seals from the islands, even for one **year**; "**would** in my opinion do more to injure the industry and be more destructive to seal life than anything I know **of**."

Such action on the part of the Government, **Healy** thought, would greatly increase the value of the sealskins.

"Consequently the number of marauding vessels in the sea next season would be largely increased. Seals would be more persistently hunted, attempted raids on the islands more frequent, and sealing done in closer proximity to the **rookeries**." 19

Notes

1 Theodore Charles **Hinckley**, "**The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson, 1877-1890**," Ph.D. **diss.**, Indiana University, 1961,, 147..

2.. **W.T.** Harris to Sheldon Jackson, 5 May 1890,, Jackson **Papers.**

3.. The Occident, 18 June, 2 April 1890,, Jackson Scrapbook.

4.. Sheldon Jackson to Kendall and Irvin (Board of Presbyterian Missions), 27 February 1890,, Jackson Papers..

5.. Rev. **M.E. Strieby** to **W.T.** Harris, 1 April 1890,, **RG 75**, National Archives, Cited in **Hinckley**, "**The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson**," 248..

6.. **Stockton** to Captain **Shepard**, 26 April 1890,, with endorsement to Captain **Healy**, 29 May 1890,, "Captain Stockton asks the assistance of the Revenue Marine in the construction of the Arctic schools, 'since they will be government property.'" **Shepard's** note to **Healy**: "**Please** do everything possible that circumstances will allow in pushing along this good **work**." Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

7.. Every account of Jackson's **life** gives much space to his role in the importation of reindeer, and their subsequent multiplication into vast herds. Scholarly examinations of his unusual labors are: **J. Arthur Lazell**, Alaskan Apostle. (New York: Harpers, 1960), 97-108; Theodore Charles **Hinckley**, "**The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson**," 249-251; Keith A. Murray, "Doctor Jackson and the **Dawson** Reindeer," Idaho Yesterdays, 2 ((1958)) 8-15,, 34; Clarence L. **Andrews**, "Reindeer in Alaska" Washington Historical Quarterly, 10 ((1919)) 171-176; Karl Ward, "**A Study of the Introduction of Reindeer into Alaska**," Journal-of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 33 ((1956)), 229-238; 34 ((1956)) 245-256.

8.. Margaret M. Butler, The Lakewood Story. (New York; Stratford House 1949); James T. Gay, "Bering Sea Controversy: Harrison, **Blaine** and **Cronyism**," The Alaska Journal, 3 ((1973)) 12-19,, **Henry W. Elliott**: "Crusading Conservationist," The Alaska Journal, 3 ((1973)) 211-16; Henry W. Elliott, "**Ten Years Acquaintance with Alaska, 1867-1877**," Harper's Magazine, 22 ((1877)) 36-41; "**The Loot and Ruin of the Fur Seal Herds of Alaska**," North American Review, 185 ((1906)) 426-36;

_____, "The Seal Islands of Alaska," in Report of the 10th Census of the United States, (Washington: GPO, 1875); _____, Our Arctic Province, Alaska and the Seal Islands, (New York: Scribners, 1886)

9.. Busch, The War Against The Fur Seals, 120..

10.. Healy to Shepard,, 29 April 1890,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

11. Journal of Mary Healy, 3 May 1890..

12.. Secty Windom to Healy,, 21 May 1890,, Alaska File, RG 26 National Archives.

13: Journal of Mary Healy,, 3 May 1890..

14.. Dr. Sheldon Jackson's Travel Journal, 16 June 1890,, Jackson Papers. The Journal Jackson maintained during the 1890' cruise, was expanded and published in a series of articles that appeared in the New York Evangelist between 5 March and 14 May 1891.. The Evangelist articles are cited hereafter, as a reference, New York Evangelist, 12 March 1891.. The role of the AC Co. in Alaska history remains controversial. The incident Jackson refers to involved the company's sending a large quantity of supplies to Attu island to be distributed free, after the company trading post had been closed the previous year; leaving the residents destitute. Alfred P. Swineford, as Governor of Alaska, launched an impassioned assault upon the ACC in his annual report for 1887: "Conceived in corruption, born in iniquity, and nurtured and grown strong and insolent on ill-gotten gains wrung from a hapless and helpless people." Busch, The War Against the Seals, 118 (quoted). Present day scholars seem to agree with 'Jackson's evaluation. Dorothy Knee Jones, A History of the Administration of the Pribilof Islands, 1867-1946, (Fairbanks: Institute of Social, Economic & Government Research, ISEGR,, Univ. of Alaska, for the U.S. Department of Justice, Indian Claims Commission-, 1976), 42-44; George Rogers, An Economic Analysis of the Pribilof Islands, 1870-1946, (Fairbanks: ISEGR, 1976), 29..

15.. Bogoslaw Island and Volcano were mentioned frequently in subsequent Revenue Marine documents concerning Alaska. The earliest reference is found in Mary Healy's Journal of 1883.. From 1890 on, until well into the turn of the century, the Revenue Cutter Service (USCG) in Alaska made regular reports concerning Bogoslaw activities. They frequently landed on the islands to make specific observations at the request of the National Geographic Society. Prominent new land features were occasionally named for cutters as was the example with, Perry

Peak in 1906,, only to subsequently disappear when new eruptions occurred. Jay Ellis Ransom, "The Fiery Bogoslov Islands", The Alaska Journal, 9 ((1979)) 62-64..

16.. New York Evangelist, 19 March 1891..

17. Ibid.

18.. An agreement ~~was reached~~ the following year to reduce the lease rental payment proportionate to the reduced seal harvest. ~~When the~~ Cleveland Administration came into ~~office in~~ 1893,, the Attorney General claimed that the Secretary of Treasury was without authority to change the provisions of a lease which had been approved by Congress. A lawsuit followed, and wended its way after years of litigation to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court ruled against the North American Commercial Company. The dispute seriously compromised Elliott's credibility with the Treasury Department. However, he was proved correct in suggesting that land harvesting had to be curtailed if the herds were to have a chance of survival. The extensive **correspondence** regarding the dispute is in Alaska File, **RG 26**,, National Archives.

19.. Healy to Capt. Shepard,, 2 January 1891,, Alaska File, **RG 26** National Archives.

CHAPTER XII.

FOUNDING SCHOOLS IN THE ARCTIC

The 1890 cruise in which Sheldon Jackson accompanied the BEAR resulted in establishing the first schools on the Arctic coastline. These were substantially a missionary effort. The role of the missionary in Alaska history is a controversial one, and largely remains to be written. The missionary experience in Hawaii may in some respects be analogous. Like their Alaska counterparts, they have been castigated for what has been perceived as their contributing to the deterioration of native culture, art and language? It is by no means certain however, that this result might have been even more pronounced without the missionary influence. In Alaska, it is suggested that their influence overall was a beneficial one, if for no other reason than that they helped to control some of the more baneful effects of the white man's encroachment when other institutions were absent or too weak to interfere. The missionaries also afforded a means for bringing the needs of the native population to the attention of a national government that was otherwise oblivious of their existence.

One of the most important impressions made upon Jackson during his trip on the BEAR, arose from his visit to Siberia. The Russian Siberian coast was a frequent landfall for the American revenue cutters patrolling the Bering Sea in the late

19th Century. Mike **Healy** was ordered to call there at the beginning of the 1890 cruise to deliver the gifts authorized by Congress for the assistance the Siberian Eskimos had extended to the shipwrecked American sailor, **J.B.** Vincent.*

On **sunday** afternoon*, ~~June~~ **June 22**, the BEAR crossed the ~~dividing~~ line between Alaska and Siberia, and that evening ~~l~~ reached the **180th** degree of West Longitude, passing from the farthest west, to the most easterly point on the earth's surface. Twenty four hours time was lost. A dense **fog** blanketed the Siberian coast, but lifted late in the morning, allowing Cape **Navarin** and the coast to be clearly seen. As Dr. Jackson remarked: "A more desolate and dreary scene it is hard to conceive **of**."³ Siberia held no attraction for Mary **Healy** either. "[O]h so cheerless and cold. What a terrible fate must be that of the poor convicts who are sentenced there for **life**."⁴ Although it was late June, the whole country appeared still to be covered with snow.

Captain, **Healy** ordered a sharp lookout to be kept for the native village shown on his chart. At length, two tents were seen on the beach. Captain **Healy** and Dr. Jackson landed, to **find** only three Siberian Eskimos present. **Healy** succeeded, by the use of sign language, in getting them to understand the purpose of the cutter's visit. ~~Most of~~ the local villagers it was learned, were inland, herding their reindeer, and a message was sent to bring them to the beach.

Next morning the Siberian Eskimos were gathered on the shore and soon were on board the vessel. **Healy** delayed distribution ~~of~~ gifts until late afternoon, anxious that the family particularly mentioned ~~by~~ Vincent, as having sheltered him, should be present. It was also important that they ~~Understand~~ the ~~gifts~~ were intended as a reward for the aid extended to the American seaman five years earlier. **Healy**, in his subsequent report, stated: "I was satisfied that we were able to communicate adequately the reason for the gifts as with an interpreter ... The news will be told along the entire coast." ⁵ The distribution of gifts delighted Mary **Healy**. "Poor things," she wrote, "it was a pleasure to see their delight, and how generous and anxious they were to see that all should get something, and the little children when they received the toys would jump up and down with delight? Mary **Healy** handed out the children's gifts; two boxes of toys that were included in the articles **Healy** purchased. Among the goods distributed, were 1500 yards of cloth, sewing needles and thread, iron pots, cooking implements, wire, carpentry tools and kegs of nails, traps, knives, tobacco, tea, and an ample **supply** of powder, lead, and percussion caps, for the native's muzzle loading muskets.

Sheldon Jackson was intrigued by **Healy's** description ~~of~~ the three principal Eskimo tribes on the Siberian coast: the **Kamchatkans** who occupied the peninsula of the same name: the **Tchutchkas**, from the region west of Bering Straits and the

~~Gule~~ of ~~Anadir~~; and the **Koriaks** who inhabited the country between the two larger tribes. The **Koriaks** were the Eskimos that had domesticated the Siberian reindeer. The deer herders were described by Jackson: "[~~They~~ are] a good sized, robust, athletic and fleshy people with prominent cheekbones. The men shaved the crown of their heads leaving a ~~fringe of~~ coarse black hair around the forehead and **sides**," giving them, Jackson thought, "~~the~~ appearance of so many monks." They did this; **Healy** told him, "~~so~~ as not to frighten the reindeer by their hair flying in the ~~wind~~." The **Koriak** clothing, tents and bedding were all made from reindeer skins, and their food was principally dried reindeer meat, supplemented with oil, whale, and seal blubber. Even the thread used in the manufacture of garments and tents, was of reindeer sinew. Reindeer skins, . were also the chief article of commerce with neighboring Siberian and Alaskan Eskimo tribes. These were exchanged for oil and blubber.

Sheldon Jackson was a highly methodical observer of the Eskimos, and his Travel Journals contain detailed descriptions of clothing, ~~fbod~~, means of transportation, and social customs. Anything concerning the domesticated reindeer excited his interest, and he observed that the deer, in addition to being the principal food, and source of clothing, also provided a means of transportation. Among the **Koriaks**, as ~~with~~ most Eskimo societies, there were no chiefs, leadership and preeminence was gained **thru** the accumulation of deer. Poor men

of the tribe who had no deer of their own, joined the band of their more affluent neighbors, to care for their herds, in return for food and clothing.

There was of course a natural curiosity among the Eskimos concerning the BEAR.' Some of the **Koriaks** had never seen a ~~steamship~~, although sailing ships were comparatively common. When an Eskimo family came alongside in a **bidarka**, at first only the men would board. After a time, the women and children would climb onto the deck, where immediately they would sit down 'as if afraid to stand erect. As they became more familiar with the vessel, whole villages would visit the cutter, and remain **onboard** the entire time it was in the vicinity. Only with difficulty could they be entreated to disembark.

A herd of **1500** reindeer was reported some distance to the north, and **Healy** proposed that Jackson observe his first large group of these animals. **Healy** accompanied him, and they 'spent the **afternoon** ashore, Jackson even taking a short ride in a reindeer propelled sled. Four animals were purchased to provide ~~fresh meat for~~ the cutter's evening meal, and Jackson had an opportunity to observe the rituals associated with the killing of the deer. This experience gave rise to a subsequent belief that superstition governed the Eskimos in the disposition of their reindeer, and might ultimately impede any project for their large scale procurement.

Jackson described the ceremony he witnessed. "**When**

getting ready to **lasso** the deer, the owner's family seated themselves in a circle on the ground, where probably some rites connected with their superstitions were **observed**." When Jackson attempted to approach the circle, we were motioned away. "**After** the animal selected, **was** lassoed, it was led aside and one man held the reindeer from the front by the horns while the owner went off, "**and** placed his back to the setting sun **as** if to engage in prayer, upon the conclusion of which he turned around and faced the animal [**and**] the knife was pushed to his heart and withdrawn." While the animal sank to his knees and rolled over on his side, "**the** owner stood erect, motionless with his hand over his **eyes**." When the deer was dead, "**he** approached, and taking a **handtul** at hair and blood from the wound, threw it to the eastward. This was repeated **a second time**." These rituals were followed in the killing of each successive **animal**.⁷

Early next morning, the BEAR steamed for six hours through a large field of floating ice. The heavy floes, so late in the season indicated that the severe winter reported in all the **communities** they had so far visited, **might** herald a late opening in the Arctic ice pack. At St. Lawrence Island the natives came aboard with **a** quantity of **sealskin** boots, their principal trade item. **Healy** explained to Jackson how the island had been the scene **ot** one **ot** the Arctic's great tragedies, and that when the **CORWIN** first visited St. Lawrence in **1880**, they **found** no one alive with the **exception ot** a **small**

village on the south side of the island. Almost the entire native population had been swept out of **existence**." In the villages along the north shore, as late as **1884**, still no sign of living beings could be found, but the still decaying bodies of the unfortunate Eskimos were lying in, and about, the falling **houses**."⁸

St. Lawrence was **one** of the communities in which Mike **Healy** was responsible for taking the census. As an agent of the Census Bureau, he conducted this work on the islands in Bering Sea and in the settlements along the Arctic coastline.⁹ But before the census could be taken, an interpreter had first to be obtained **from** Indian Point on the Siberian side, At various locations along the Bering Sea coast, the **whalers** recruited Eskimos as crewmen and hunters, and not infrequently the villagers enticed aboard the whaleships, were put ashore penniless, in San Francisco. Captain **Healy** transported these natives north again on the BEAR. One Indian Point villager, Tommy Tuck, had learned a modicum of English along with a surplus of profanity, from this experience, **and** was regularly employed as an interpreter.

Mary **Healy** described Tommy Tuck. "**He** is a character that Dickens would have had (sic). **He** is very small, but with his hands in his jacket and an old cap one of the officers gave him, he swells himself up. **It** is too funny to hear him talk. We call him the **4th Lieutenant**!"¹⁰ The census was

taken, with difficulty, due to the constant coming and going of the Eskimos, and while this was in progress Dr. Jackson visited the village. The summer homes of the St. Lawrence islanders, he observed, were constructed above ground on stilts. Their walls, made of driftwood, whalebone and planks from wrecked ships, were supported in the center by a ridge pole. A covering of walrus and seal skins formed the roof in the shape of a cone. During the winter, the islanders lived in underground houses, the walls of which were composed of walrus skulls, "**laid** up like a New England stone **wall**." The Eskimo children in particular, attracted his interest:

As we passed from house to house we were followed by a crowd of dirty, but bright looking children. From the eldest to the child who was just able to walk, they asked for tobacco, which is used by both sexes and **all** ages, down to the **nursing** child. Five little girls from four to ten years of age, gave me a native dance?

In **1890** there were **270** Eskimos living in **21** houses on St. Lawrence Island, -including more than **125** children of school age. **Jackson** noted in his Journal that St. Lawrence '~~would~~ be a suitable location for a school, and that it also would attract **families** and school age children from Siberia, **40** miles distant. St. Lawrence Island, he noted, also possessed many of the **characteristics** which made it attractive as a potential site for an experimental reindeer herd.

Historians seeking to reconstruct past events are usually dependent upon the existence of records made at the time. One of the most vexing problems is to chart the course

for the emergence of an idea. These are seldom adequately documented. Mike **Healy**, more than any other American of the period, was familiar with the reindeer herds of the Siberian coast and their importance as the primary food source of the **Koriak** Eskimos. He knew that no similar wildlife resource existed in Alaska, and that the animals which provided the sustenance of the Alaskan Eskimos were being rapidly depleted. Walrus, seals and whales were coming close to extinction, and certainly no longer existed in quantities sufficient to provide a dependable food source for the future. Even in the interior, the caribou had been wasted by indiscriminate killing. At some point, Mike **Healy** considered a plan for purchasing and transporting reindeer to **Alaska** to nurture domesticated herds, to wean the Alaskan Eskimo from their subsistence hunting life style. **Healy** saw the possibility of their being encouraged to learn to herd these animals in the same manner as the Siberian tribes, and his systematic exposure of the Presbyterian missionary educator to the implications of the rapid decline of the native's food sources resulted in Jackson's taking an active interest in the project. In later years, although Dr. Jackson was frequently credited with being the first to conceive the idea for the "Reindeer Project," he would never deny that the idea had originated with Mike **Healy**. At this point in time, the first evidence emerges that Jackson and **Healy** were considering a plan for transporting the domesticated Siberian reindeer to

Alaska. Dr. Jackson's reference in his Journal to St. Lawrence Island as a likely location for an experimental herd, indicates their plans were already well advanced.

King's Island, a smaller rocky outcrop in Bering Sea, was the next **village** visited by the census takers **of** the BEAR. Jackson described the island. "[~~It~~ is] a mass of basalt rock;- about a mile in length, rising from the sea with perpendicular sides from **700** to **1,000** feet." On the south side, the wall of rock was broken by a steep ravine, permanently filled with ice and snow. The village of the King Islanders extended to both sides of the ravine, and consisted of some forty dwellings or underground houses, partly. excavated in the side of the hill and built with stone **walls**.. The caves or winter homes were too damp to live in during what passed for summer, and another was erected directly above. These were constructed **of walrus** hides stretched over a wooden frame. Jackson visited the storehouse, excavated into the permanent ice filled ravine where walrus and seal meat was kept at temperatures which never rose above freezing throughout the year. While **Healy** and his officers occupied themselves-with the census, Jackson, an indefatigable curio hunter, busied himself securing articles ~~for~~ his Natural History Museum at **Sitka**. Mary **Healy** commented on **Jackson's** collecting mania: "[~~T~~here will be cases and cases of them [curios] on board by the end of the ~~voyage~~ ¹²

By early morning July **2d**., the BEAR was at Port Clarence in the midst **of** the Arctic whaling fleet. Eight steamers and

eighteen sailing vessels, all flying the American flag was an impressive sight in this far off, uninhabited bay within sight of the Arctic Circle. The whalers left San Francisco in January, and Port Clarence, the finest sheltered anchorage on the northwest coast of **Alaska**, was their gathering point each ~~year~~ in the first week of July. Soon after the cutter's arrival, the captains of the whalers began to come on board to collect their mail. "**Great** bundles of letters and papers were piled upon the Captain's table, and again and again they were carefully scanned, with each captain picking out those that belonged to himself or his crew. Some of them did this so nervously, that though they personally looked over the packet three or four different times, they still missed some, which would be detected and handed out by someone **following.**"¹³

While the whaling captains collected their mail, the cutter's launches began searching the assembled vessels. Contraband goods, liquor or breech loading rifles, were either confiscated or thrown into the sea. The only vessel found to be carrying more than a reasonable quantity of liquor, liberal in ~~the circumstances~~, was the whaling bark ALASKA. Eleven barrels of whiskey and six cases of gin were emptied into the ocean. Others, seeing the search parties approach, discharged their liquor ~~over~~ the side. Empty **demi-johns** and three gallon tin cans were soon floating around most of the ships anchored in the bay. "**The** ALASKA was ~~the vessel~~ of one of the Captain's friends, but no matter, friend and foe are treated alike so

over it had to go and Captain Ellis lost nearly \$300,, but he was very pleasant and agreeable about **it**," Mary **Healy** **observed**.¹⁴

The rendezvous with the whaling fleet brought other **official** business for the 'captain **of** the Revenue cutter. It was no **secret** ~~that~~ that the crewmen on the whaling ships frequently were shanghaied in San Francisco or Hawaii. Others were recruited from the waterfront, just a step ahead of the law. Altogether they were a dangerous and difficult group of men. The master of the whaling bark MARGARET THOMAS, of San Francisco reported that his black steward, Richard Price, had dangerously wounded one of the ship's officers. Price had been placed in irons, but threatened to attack the officer again, and set fire to the ship if he regained his liberty. The master of the whaler was anxious to be **rid** of him, and asked **Healy** to take the man off his hands. The steward was equally anxious to claim the protection of the government vessel. When she saw him being brought aboard, Mary **Healy** remarked: "**Poor** fellow, I felt sorry for him as he was dreadfully broken up, having been **confined** in a very small space in irons over **12** **days**".¹⁵

A sailing schooner carrying the building materials for Sheldon Jackson's new Arctic schools, and the whaler's supply ship JEANNIE with the missionary teachers, **H. R.** Thornton and **W. T. Lopp** for Cape Prince of Wales, and Dr. John **Driggs** for Point Hope, arrived at Port Clarence early in July. The three

would play a part in the history of Arctic Alaska, and one, Thornton, would die there. The teachers boarded the BEAR and were soon **enroute** towards Cape Prince of **Wales**, **30** miles distant, where the first school was to be located. The Cape was: "[A] picturesque and bold promontory from which the Arctic Ocean, Bering Sea, and the Coast of Siberia were visible." It was inhabited by the **Kinugumut** Eskimos with a relatively large and stable population of **500** in two villages, one located on the beach and the other on a rising hill. Of all the Eskimos along the coast of both continents, the **Kinugumut**'s alone had earned a reputation for hostility towards the white man, and their aggressive disposition was matched by the isolated location. In **1877** a whaling brig, the WILLIAM H. ALLEN, had stopped **enroute** out of the Arctic, and been boarded by the Wales Eskimos demanding liquor. Instead they were fired on by Captain George **Gilly**, and thirteen were killed. The ~~incident~~ was well known along the coast, and the Wales Eskimos harbored a lively grudge for the murderous assault which had gone unpunished and **unavenged**.¹⁶

The **Kinugumut** were also known for their impressive successes as Eskimo traders. They had been active for hundreds of years in exchanging the marine animal oils for caribou and reindeer hides. Marine oils of the walrus, seal and whale, provided essential vitamins and carbohydrates, otherwise unavailable to the interior tribes, and the hides were needed in making tents, clothing and **sleeping** robes. As with the

other Eskimos, the most prized trade items were breech loading weapons and whiskey.

The schooner transporting the building materials was standing off the beach when the cutter arrived. A work detail and boats from the BEAR **landed** the **Lumber** and four carpenters from the whaling fleet were **soon** engaged in raising the school buildings. The Wales Eskimos pitched in to help. "**All** [of them] ,/" Mary **Healy** observed, "**are** willing to go to **school**.. **No** doubt **at** the same time they are smacking their lips over the tender meat they will be able to enjoy at Christmas time feasting on the new teachers . ..Captain Smith [of the JEANNIE] called here only for a few moments with some provisions for us, but it being too rough to transfer them, we will get them at Point Hope. He said that he would not stop here for all the missionaries in the **world**."17

The youngest of the two Wales teachers, William T. **Lopp**, twenty six, had been a school teacher in Indiana. Harrison **R.** Thornton, was from **Farmville**, Virginia. Thirty two years of age, Thornton had been a failure at most of the things he attempted before accepting the Alaska school post. He had convinced Sheldon Jackson of his ability to perform the duties of **missionary-teacher**, but his relationship with Captain **Healy** was fraught with difficulty, from the very beginning. Thornton had an unfortunate **ability** to irritate people. He bragged of his teaching experience, and facility with Native American languages. Thornton succeeded in rubbing

Healy the wrong way during the short time he was a passenger on the cutter. In a report **Healy** later made to Captain **Shepard**, he described Thornton as a, "**fat head.**"¹⁸ ~~Unknown~~ to anyone at the time, the two villages were bitterly hostile to one another. The site chosen for the mission school was on ~~land~~ claimed by **the** hill people, and this antagonized the beach villagers. **Thornton and Lopp** would spend the first few months of the winter practically barricaded in their school building.

Anxious not to tarry at Wales, the carpenters worked rapidly raising the school buildings. The BEAR in the meantime, steamed to Little **Diomed** Island to continue with the census taking. The Bering Strait, **40** miles wide at this point had been discovered by the Russian navigator, **Vitus** Bering in **1728**, but it remained for Captain Cook in **1778** to complete **Bering's work** by charting the exact relationship of the two continents. The two **Diomed** Islands marked the boundary line that separated Russia from Alaska. Close to the Asiatic coast, the **Diomedes** were the natural gateway for ~~much~~ of the trade, that-reached Alaska from Siberia.

The cutter returned to Wales on July **12**, loaded the shore parties and left the two teachers behind, to begin her journey north **thru** Bering Straits into the Arctic. Mike **Healy's** broad experience with the region enabled him to provide Sheldon Jackson with information concerning the marked decline of the Alaskan Eskimo population. In his later

writings, Jackson frequently referred to the disastrous effects **of** white civilization on the Eskimos. One of the earliest recorded visits to **Shishmareff**, where the cutter stopped next on its census taking mission, was in **1826** by Captain **Beechey** of the Royal Navy, while searching for a Northwest Passage. The Eskimo village at **the** time contained more than **1000 inhabitants**.¹⁹ In **1890** the census recorded a total population of **40**. Jackson landed to collect samples of fossil ivory from the deposits of **mammoth tusks**, found by the early explorers. On his way back to the ship, he walked through the native graveyard which extended for a distance of three miles along the beach. The dead, wrapped in skins, were deposited in the forks of poles or on elevated platforms. The vast expanse of graveyard was a visible sign of the decimation of the native population.

Cape Blossom, the cutter's next stop, was the ancient market place of the Arctic Eskimos. When the ice went out in **Kotzebue** Sound, the **beluga** or white whale arrived, and were hunted from the shore, and in **bidarkas**. The whales were gone by the **middle of July** when the cutter arrived, and salmon were entering the Cape Blossom side **of** the inlet. Hundreds **of** natives were already arriving from the Siberian coast and the Alaskan interior. In August as many as **3,500 would** congregate **to fish** and trade. It was the site of the "**Great** International Fair and Market of Alaska," as it had been termed by Captain **Hooper** in **1880**. Barter was carried on for seal oil, walrus,

caribou hides and seal skins. Here the Eskimos of Siberia also exchanged reindeer skins, whiskey, and occasionally breech loading rifles with the Alaska Eskimos. Schooners from Hawaii and San Francisco frequented the area until they were chased off by the cutters in the **1880's**. A schooner, was anchored at Cape Blossom as the BEAR appeared, and began hoisting its sails in an attempt to escape to sea. The cutter's steam **launch** was sent in pursuit, but the schooner jettisoned her remaining contraband cargo before she could be boarded.

On the north side of **Kotzebue** Sound, **Healy** pointed out where the two large rivers, the **Kowak** and the **Noatak** emptied into **Hotham** Inlet. Both, he explained to Jackson, had been mapped and explored to their headwaters by expeditions landed from the **CORWIN** in **1884** and **1885**. The winds were fair for Cape Thompson, and the cutter continued to the rocky bluff **1200** feet high, where birds by the tens of thousands nested. A party of Eskimos there collected eggs for the mess, a welcome addition to the cutter's larder.

Next stop on the patrol, Point Hope, was reached on July **18**. The Eskimo village was situated on a narrow stretch of land extending **16** miles into the Arctic Ocean and named by the natives **Tig-e-rach**, or "**finger**." It was formed when two great fields of ice, grounded on the shallow bottom, pushed up a ridge of sand and gravel until a low shelf rose from the ocean. In **1887** another great ice mass had come down from the Arctic with such force as to sever both ends of the peninsula,

much reducing it in length, and carrying away an entire Eskimo village sited on the western tip. Twelve vessels of the New Bedford whaling fleet were anchored at Point Hope, and orders were given for their search. But the weather turned threatening, and soon blew gale force winds which prevented, boats from being lowered. For three days the assembled vessels weathered the **storm.**²⁰

When the storm abated on July **21**., Mike **Healy** and Dr. Jackson went ashore to inspect progress on the new school building. Again, the carpenters from the whalers had been active. Jackson's missionary teacher, Dr. John **B. Driggs** who was also a physician, would render valuable service there. Although the Point Hope Eskimo population was only **300** in **1890**., it had been the largest village on the Arctic coast in **1800**., with a population of **2,000**.. Conflict with the **Noatak** Eskimos of the interior, and a famine that followed when their leading hunters were killed, decimated the Point Hope Eskimos in the early **19th** century. A further demoralizing influence was the opening, in **1887**., of a land whaling **station** by the Pacific Steam Whaling Company. An effort was being made, the natives told **Healy**., to increase their numbers by purchasing children from the interior tribes. The market price for an Eskimo child was a seal skin bag of **oil.**²¹

As with every voyage of the Arctic cutter, the **ship's** surgeon was usually the busiest man on the ship. From each vessel they encountered, a hail could be expected to ask if

the surgeon would examine a sick or injured man, and in each native community, he was called upon to treat not only the injured, but also the common illnesses. Though of no serious consequence to a white man, these were frequently fatal to the Eskimos who possessed no natural resistance to diseases such as measles, small pox or **influenza**. One incident involving an Eskimo patient was described by Mary **Healy**:

[He] came on board to see the doctor about a finger he had shattered in an explosion of [gun] powder. The doctor told him it must be cut off. He did not like the idea because he said it would hurt, but the Captain told him they would give him something to put him to sleep and he would not feel it. Still he would not consent. However, after a while he returned to the Captain and said: "**What** you give me **good?**" The Captain replied: "**Yes.**" Then he was willing to take it. He was chloroformed. The Indians never saw anything of the kind before, and all thought he was dead. There was quite a stir among them as they came to look at him, and when he came to, their surprise was exceedingly great and he was a happy **indian**.²²

At Point Hope, three Eskimos from Prince of Wales and a seaman survivor of the whaler LITTLE OHIO wrecked in **1888**, were taken aboard. The Eskimos had been marooned on an ice floe and carried out to sea. They drifted for more than six weeks before the floe grounded at Cape Thompson, **150** miles from their village. The survivors of the original party of five were reduced to eating their walrus boots, and two died. The shipwrecked seaman was found by Eskimos, wandering destitute and insane, along the shore. How he had failed to be picked up earlier, was difficult to understand, unless passing vessels had assumed he was a deserter, and refused to take him

aboard. His feet were so badly frozen that gangrene had set in, and the surgeon was forced to amputate portions of both feet to save his life.

When the school building at Point Hope was completed, the BEAR set off again on July 22 with a fair wind for Wainwright,, next stop on the Arctic itinerary. Dr. John B. Driggs the Episcopalian physician opened his school in September with his first student, a wandering Eskimo boy who was attracted to scholarship by offering him two pancakes left over from Driggs' own breakfast. To his astonishment, Driggs soon found himself with 68 students, all of whom were equally enamored of pancakes.²³

Cape Lisburne was passed, and from there eastward, Jackson observed the gradual descent in height of the coastal hills for a distance of 50 miles. The ice floes from the northern pack had pushed up sand and shingle to form a low sand spit running parallel with the coastline. Varying in width from 900 to 1,000 feet, six feet above sea level, the narrow finger of land extended 120 miles in a northeasterly direction paralleling the coast. The narrow channel it enclosed, ranging from two to six miles wide, provided a sheltered waterway for native bidarkas and shallow draft vessels. It was the means of communicating with Barrow when the ice pack prevented ship movements further eastward.

On July 24 the BEAR found herself again in the company of the whaling fleet at Wainwright Inlet. The encroaching edge

of the ice pack prevented further progress eastward. The Arctic Pack was the large body of perpetually frozen ice that extended from the Coast of Alaska, to Siberia. The southern limit of the pack changed constantly under the influence of the season, wind and current, ~~and contained~~ the "leads" or open water channels sometimes extending ~~into the Pack for~~ miles. In August ~~1778~~, Captain Cook found the southern edge resting on land forty miles south of ~~Wainwright Inlet~~, and named the location, ~~Icy~~ Cape. Jackson visited the Eskimo village of ~~Koog-Moote~~ at ~~Wainwright~~. "The mosquitoes were terrible even investing the ~~ship~~." On shore, he found they were even worse. In a blinding snowstorm, two ~~days~~ later, a cautious attempt was made to explore the condition of the ice pack. After skirting the edge, the BEAR anchored off the Sea Horse Islands, scene of the loss of ~~33~~ vessels caught in the ice and abandoned by their crews in ~~1871~~. Extreme watchfulness was demanded; and the smallest change of wind direction, current or ice conditions ~~could~~ spell disaster. Occasionally Captain ~~Healy~~ remained on deck, or in the ~~crow's~~ nest for long periods, watching for leads or dangerous ice movements. The BEAR ~~passed~~ a week in the vicinity of the Sea Horse Islands waiting for the ice pack to swing off shore and open the way to the northeast. While anchored, the cutter was carried towards the shore by drifting ice, and the movement went unnoticed by the officer of the deck until ~~Healy~~ detected it and ordered steam ~~raised~~.²⁴ The ship set to work bucking

her way through the ice. Once underway, Captain ~~Healy~~ decided to continue until he was again stopped by the pack. Threading its way carefully through the floes, the BEAR managed two days later, to reach Point Barrow.

The Eskimo village of ~~Ootkeavie~~ at Barrow was, next to Wales, the largest village on the Arctic coast with a population of just slightly in excess of 300.. From 1881 to 1883,, a U.S. Army Signal Corps station there made observations in connection with the First International Geophysical Year. The buildings were now leased to the Pacific Steam Whaling co. ; for use as a whaling station and trading post. In 1890 they were managed by John W. Kelly, a student of the local Eskimo dialect? Point Barrow was also the location of the Arctic Refuge Station. Mike ~~Healy~~ played a large part in its being established by the U.S. Life Saving Service a year earlier.

~~Ootkeavie~~ was to be the site of one of Jackson's government schools. Leander M. Stevenson the teacher, arrived on a whaler, ready to begin work. For the next two years,, Stevenson would find his duties at Barrow included not only teaching the Eskimos, but also assisting in the management of the Refuge Station. Dr. Jackson's ~~Travel~~ Journal, while detailing many of the incidents that occurred in the course of his first voyage to the Arctic, omits an account of the circumstances which brought about Stevenson's association with the Barrow Refuge Station. His only reference to the situation

Captain **Healy** found on his arrival at Barrow, **was** the **brief** remark: "~~[[T]hrough~~ the courtesy of Captain **Healy**, I secured a room for the school in one of the Government **buildings**." 26

During the **10** days of the **BEAR's** stay at Barrow, the weather remained threatening, and the ice pack close at hand. The crew worked at landing stores and lumber for the Refuge Station, but these operations were frequently interrupted by the increasing winds, that raised a pounding surf over the open beaches. The winds also brought large quantities of floating ice, and finally a storm forced the cutter and the whalers to steam north, further away from the shore, for safety. Captain **Healy** was frustrated because he needed good weather to complete his work. While anchored off shore on August **2**, a whaler brought news of the wreck of the supply schooner THOMAS POPE, near Point Hope on July **28**. Next day, the weather abated **sufficiently** to permit the BEAR to return to Barrow, where a raft of spars was constructed to land the remaining **lumber** and stores. Mary **Healy's** diary entry noted:

The weather continues so bad the Captain is afraid he will be obliged to leave here again. He has much business to attend and longs for the wind to change, hoping to have a few days of good weather to complete his work. The surf is so bad that it is impossible to land. (August **5th**) . . . Light drizzling rain. They are hauling coal ashore for the station, taking advantage of the smooth sea. It is astonishing how quickly it becomes angry, and the current is so strong it is as much as the men can do to pull the boats. (August **6th**) . . . no change in the wind. Captain and Dr. Jackson **ashore**. I am alone in the cabin, and oh, how lonesome it is, but I am busy sewing. Talk now and then to

Polly. They have finished taking stores and coal ashore. If the surf permits, I will go on shore to see the **station.**²⁷

Shortly after their arrival, Captain **Healy** ordered an officer to inspect the records of the Refuge Station. Captain Gilbert ~~Borden~~, the Superintendent, appointed on the basis of his experience as a **ship's** master in the Arctic, had no experience with the duties of a government storekeeper. The officer reported to **Healy** that a considerable quantity of provisions and other property was missing, and Borden was attempting to conceal the extent of the shortages. **Healy** subsequently informed Captain **Shepard** of his stormy interview with Borden concerning the missing government stores. The absence of records of expenditure for the use of the station personnel made it difficult to prove their actual theft. **Healy** intended however to exercise his authority to appoint Dr. Jackson's teacher, **L. M. Stevenson**, as Assistant Superintendent. Stevenson would assume responsibility for maintaining the Refuge Station records, and in **return** would be allowed to use the facilities of the station as a residence and **classroom.**²⁸

Further incidents in the whaling fleet, also called for **Healy's** attention. The engineer of the whaler ABRAM BARBER, had disabled the **ship's** engines in a dispute over wages, and was confined in manacles. The master was hesitant to release him **because of his continued threats** to wreck the engines. The

prisoner **was** brought to the BEAR, and two of the cutter's engineer's went across to put the whaler's engines back in working order. Several seaman from the fleet had suffered serious fractures of the arms or legs in falls, and were admitted to the infirmary. Three deserters also also taken aboard. When the BEAR stopped later, near Cape **Sabine**, four men were seen **signalling** from shore. These proved to be deserters who had spent the previous winter living with the Eskimos. Destitute and in rags, they pleaded to be taken on the government vessel. A fourth man, still on shore was six miles inland, and one of the group agreed to go for him. The BEAR waited twenty four hours for them to return. A search party **was** also landed, but returned empty handed. To leave them may have meant their starvation during the coming winter, but **there was** no alternative. Captain **Healy** recognized they would not be picked up by any other ship and their only hope of rescue **was** to be taken on the cutter.

Beyond Cape **Sabine** the BEAR, proceeding under canvas, encountered a sudden gust of wind that carried away her jib boom and **sail**. * **Mary-Healy**, **was** in the cabin with Dr. Jackson. "[We] felt the shock but thought it **was** only **a sea** that took us. When we went on deck and **saw** the sails flapping with the wind, and the men trying to reach out and recover them from the sea, I was much frightened. The great noise and bustle caused by the wind and the **waves** made me expect every minute to see some of the men carried off the vessel, as they held

onto the sails. After a while they succeeded in recovering all the rigging." **Healy** ordered the vessel back to Cape **Lisburne** and anchored under the lee ~~of~~ the land. "**Of** course we rocked and rolled some, but we felt ~~secure~~"²⁹

At Point Hope they encountered the wrecked THOMAS POPE, high on a reef, **dismasted** and completely gutted of its ~~cargo~~. "**If** I had considered her ~~a~~ menace to navigation I would have destroyed her, but in her present condition she is much as a buoy." **Healy** was informed, at Barrow that after the vessel had ~~+~~ run aground on the beach, the Master sold her on the spot, accepting a bid of **\$525** for the vessel and cargo reported to be worth **\$50,000**.. "**I** deemed it wiser in the circumstances," **Healy** reported, "**to** leave her untouched, although she is only **dismasted** and her hull is as sound **as any** vessel afloat."³⁰

The Arctic was behind them when they **reached** St. **Michaels** on the **21st** of August. One of the oldest settlements in Alaska, it was scarcely changed from when it was first established as a trading post by the Russians in **1835**.. The original buildings 'were occupied by the Alaska Commercial Co., and the blockhouse still mounted its two Russian cannon, occasionally used to salute the cutter's arrival. Nine of Jackson's interior schools received their annual supplies through the coastal trading post, **and several** were located more than **2,000** miles upriver. A Jesuit Priest, Father William Judge was at St. **Michaels** waiting to go upriver to establish a

Mission at Holy Cross. The Catholic missions on the Yukon experienced a setback following Bishop Charles **Seghers** murder in 1886.. "Dr.. Jackson is very much pleased with Father **Judge**," Mary **Healy** recounted, "he is the first Jesuit he ever came near enough to speak to."31 .

The BEAR reached the **Pribilofs** at the end of August, marking the end of the Arctic patrol, and the beginning of the **last** phase of duty in Bering Sea. As the BEAR closed the Islands, a prowling sealing schooner was seen crowding on sail, seeking to escape to **sea ahead** of the cutter. As soon as the BEAR anchored, representatives of the North American Commercial Co. came aboard complaining that Elliott and Treasury Agent **Goff**, had ordered a halt to the killing **of** fur **seals** after only **20,000** animals had been harvested.

After several days spent patrolling around the islands, warning off the increasingly bold sealing schooners, the BEAR proceeded on to **Unalaska** to **re-coal**.. Dr. Jackson took his **leave** there, but before departing conferred with **Healy** on a joint strategy **for** implementing' the "Reindeer Project." **Healy** agreed to **provide a** series of slides for use by Jackson in publicizing the plight **of Alaska's** Eskimos, and the possibilities for alleviating the danger of famine by the introduction of Siberian **domesticated** reindeer. Although efforts would be made to secure an appropriation from Congress, this seemed an unlikely possibility, so late in the short remaining session. But the urgency of the problem, they

agreed, seemed to indicate a need to begin reindeer purchases the following summer, and an effort would be made by Jackson to secure funds by private subscription.

Several times during the weeks that followed, the cutter pursued sealing schooners that had crept in close to the islands. Each time they succeeded in escaping outside the territorial limit of three miles, before they could be boarded. The weather grew progressively worse and the cutter' was buffeted by a series of storms which finally blew themselves out on October= 11th, enabling the cutter to creep back towards St. George island. The heavy seas still made it impossible to land at the village. One of the seamen working on deck was swept overboard. "It was something dreadful for I did not dream they could get to him in such a sea:" Mike Healy,, observed the mishap, ordered the engines stopped, and a boat lowered. At the mizzen mast he was able to keep the man in view and direct the launch in the heavy seas. The seaman also had the presence of mind to catch the log line, trailing from the stern, and wrap it around his forearm. Within minutes of being washed overboard, he was back safe on deck. "It seemed wonderful," Mary Healy recounted, "but showed how well the men were drilled under the Captain's care for some years. Poor fellow, I think that if he had not had the presence of mind to wind the rope around his arm he would have been lost, for he was almost gone even in that short distance, and it will be many days before he can return to duty:" 32

October 16 found the BEAR again at **Unalaska**. Mary **Healy** shared fully, the sentiments of the crew in hoping that their lonely vigil around the Seal Islands had come to an end, and they would soon be **enroute** home to San Francisco. The fur seals had almost completely deserted the rookeries for their annual ~~migrations~~ **migrations** south, and it seemed incomprehensible that any ~~of~~ the sealing schooners could continue operating in the stormy Bering **Sea** at this time of the year. But there was a foreboding which Mary **Healy** ~~felt~~ and described in her journal:

October 18th (~~Unalaska~~) I am nervous with foreboding **and** expect at any moment to see a vessel, **as I** really feel one is near, but it is a foolish feeling, for this time of the year to expect one. **Dora** (**A.C.Co.** supply ship) and the Bear are the last ~~to leave~~. After dinner, walked the deck. Some one cried out: "Steamer in **sight**." Of course all were **anxious** to find out what it was and what it meant. Mr. **Dimmock** went to the mast head and reported: "**The** Bertha, flying the Revenue **Flag**." What can it mean? Captain replied: "**A** message for me, I **bet**." In a few hours she arrived and anchored alongside the Bear and to our great disappointment, we are to remain here a month **longer**.³³

The BERTHA brought new orders for Captain **Healy**. In view of the report of the raiders that sailed **from** Victoria with the intention of raiding the rookeries, the BEAR was to remain on patrol until the end of November. In obedience to the new orders, the BEAR was back again at St. George on October 20,, "they were surprised to see **us** as we **had** bid them adieu 'until next Spring." No sealers were seen during the following weeks. Mary **Healy** reflected her husband's frustration. "**It** is perfect

folly to keep us where there are hardly any seals and no schooner could get them from the islands as landing is dangerous. It grows monotonous and everyone is **restless**.³⁴

Mary **Healy** also wrote to Sheldon Jackson at **Sitka**, advising him of everything that had happened since he left the BEAR in September: "**The** Captain thinks having a missionary aboard was good luck **because** since you left the weather has been one continuous succession **of** storms." She told him of the cutter's activities in transporting the **Aleut** orphans to the Jessie Lee Home at **Unalaska**, "**the** little virgins" as Mike **Healy** called them. Mrs. Tuck was happy, she informed Sheldon Jackson, but chagrined at having so many charges in such a small place. "**The** Captain has taken up a subscription for clothing from among the officers and delivered this to Mrs. Tuck, and two large cases of clothing and **40** blankets had also been sent on the BERTHA, when it brought the supplies **for** the **BEAR**." Jackson was also brought up to date on happenings aboard the cutter. The cabin steward had gone insane, and had to be restrained, several fights had broken out, and the colored steward taken on in the Arctic was back in irons. Mary **Healy** who had felt so sorry for him when he was brought aboard, now described him as a, "**Very** bad **man**."³⁵

Late in November the cutter was **enroute** back to the **Pribilofs** with a fair wind and the intention of making one last patrol before heading south for San Francisco. After three hours, the wind veered to the north forcing the BEAR to struggle

forward in the increasingly heavy seas. The quartermaster was lashed to the wheel after nearly being washed overboard. **At 2 a.m.** the officer of the deck came to the Captain's cabin to report the wind **had** not changed. **"I** was delighted to hear the Captain order the vessel turned around and put on course for the path to San Francisco. Everybody is happy to be homeward bound."⁸⁵ The voyage of **1890** was ended, and the "Reindeer Project" that would occupy **Healy** and Sheldon Jackson in the following years, was about to begin.

Notes

1. Stephen W. Haycox, "Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective: Alaska Native **Schools** and Mission **Contracts**, 1885-1894." Pacific Historian 28 (Spring 1984) 19-26.

2.. Batcheller,, Actng.. Secty.. to Healy,, n.d. 1890,, Healy to Secty,, 3 July 1890.. (Reporting distribution of gifts), Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

3.. New York Evangelist, 26 March 1891..

4.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 22 June 1890..

5. Healy to Secty., Treasury, 3 July 1890,, Alaska File, RG 26 National Archives.

6.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 22 June 1890..

7.. New York Evangelist, 26 March 1891.. Ceremonies also accompanied the killing of whales by the Alaskan Eskimos.

8. Ibid.,

9.. supt. of Census, Dept. of Interior to Secty.. Treasury, 22 April 1890,, Alaska File, RG 26 National Archives.

10.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 30 June 1890..

11. New York Evangelist, 2 April 1891..

12.. New York Evangelist, 8 April 1891; Journal of Mary Healy,, 2 July 1890.. The museum on the campus of Sheldon Jackson College at Sitka,, houses the world-famous collection of artifacts that Jackson collected during his voyages to the Arctic.

13.. New York Evangelist, 9 April 1891..

14.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 2 July 1890..

15.. Ibid.,

16.. There are several reports of the incident including: Edward W. Nelson, "The Eskimo About Bering Strait," extract from the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington: GPO, 1900), 295; Harrison R. Thornton, Among the Eskimos of Wales, Alaska, 1890-1893, ed. Neda S. Thornton and William M. Thornton, Jr. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1931), 38; Hooper,, Cruise of the Corwin 1880, 20; Maurice Montgomery, "The Murder of Missionary Thornton," Pacific

Northwest Quarterly, 54 ((1963)) 167-73..

17. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 5 July 1890..

18. **Healy** to Capt. **Shepard**, 7 July 1890,, Alaska File, RG 26 National Archives.

19. Frederick W. **Beechey**, A Narrative of the Voyage and Travels of Captain **Beechey** to the Pacific and **Behring's** Straits in the Years 1825-1828, (London: **Colburn & Bentley**, 1831),, 381..

20. New York Evangelist, 16 April 1891: Journal of Mary **Healy**, 20 July 1890..

21. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 21 July 1890..

22. Ibid., 27 July 1890..

23. U.S. Department of Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1892-93, (Washington: GPO, 1893),, 1732-33..

24. Ibid., 31 July 1890..

25. **Kelly**, a student of the Eskimo language, compiled a dictionary of the **Ottkeavie** dialect which was published by the U.S. Department of Education in 1889..

26. New York Evangelist, 23 April 1891..

27. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 4 August 1890..

28. **Healy** to Borden, 8 August 1890,, (Appointing Stevenson and authorizing his use of one room in the Refuge as a classroom); **Lt. Dimmock** to **Healy**, 9 August 1890 (Reporting inspection of Refuge Station and Inventory Discrepancies); **Healy** to **Shepard**, 3 September 1890 (Reporting Discrepancies in Inventory and Suspicion of Borden **thefts**); **Healy** to **Secty.** Treasury, 1 September 1890 (Enclosing reports and advising action taken with respect to **Superintendent** Borden) Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

29. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 13 August 1890..

30. **Healy** to **Secty.** Treasury, 5 September 1890.. There had evidently **been** considerable comment in the **San Francisco** papers concerning the questionable 'spot **sale**' of derelict vessels in Alaska. The classic **case** would occur a year later in the vicinity of Point Barrow and involve Capt. Borden of the Refuge Station.

31. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 21 August 1890..

32.. Ibid., 11 October 1890..

33. Ibid., 18 October 1890..

34. ~~Ibid.~~, 2 November 1890..

35. Mrs. **Healy** to Jackson, 20 October 1890.. "The Captain says tell Dr. Jackson I would **rather he** read this long winded epistle . than **me....**" ~~complimentary~~ he is not . . . I trust you have arrived safely ! . . . **needless for me** to tell you how very **much I** missed you and the Captain also felt your absence . . . Remember our trip for next year and **urge your** good **wife** to **accompany you.**" Jackson Papers.

36.. Ibid., 17 November 1890..

CHAPTER XIII

THE REINDEER PROJECT

Sheldon Jackson has frequently been given exclusive credit for the importation of the Siberian domesticated reindeer into Alaska, but never personally claimed to be the originator of this project. In his earliest report concerning the reindeer, made to Commissioner of Education William T. Harris, Jackson observed: "**It** was my good fortune to make my visit to the Eskimo in the United States Revenue steamer BEAR, commanded by Captain Michael A. **Healy**.. Having seen much of the native population and taken a great interest in their welfare, he has probably a better knowledge of their condition than **any** other person. His attention was early called to the advantage that the introduction of domesticated reindeer would be to the inhabitants of Northern Alaska, and he has given the subject considerable **thought**."¹ Jackson conceived that his part, in addition to aiding in its implementation, was to suggest the feasibility of introducing the reindeer in conjunction with the federal program of industrial and agricultural schools. Funded from revenues derived from the sale of land, Alaska's quasi-territorial status precluded participation in this program without an express act of **Congress**.²

Sheldon Jackson's report to Commissioner Harris included an excerpt from **Healy's** account of the **CORWIN's 1885** cruise to which Dr. Charles **H.** Townsend contributed the

section, "**Notes** on the Natural History and Ethnology of Northern Alaska." Townsend commented on the depletion of food sources in Alaska, and the anomalous situation existing in neighboring Siberia where the reindeer had been domesticated. "**In** time," Townsend observed, "**the** introduction of the tame variety [reindeer], which is a substantial support to the people just across the Straits would be a philanthropic movement, contributing more towards their amelioration than any system of schools or kindred charities." Townsend knew the native boats could never accomplish the importation, which ~~would~~, however, present no difficulty to ordinary sea going vessels. ³

Professor John **F.** Murphy who for many years served as Professor of History at the- U.S. Coast Guard Academy, attributed the idea of bringing Siberian Reindeer to Alaska, to Lieutenant John **C.** Cantwell. It was **Cantwell** who conducted the land exploration of the **Kowak** River in **1884** and **1885**, and was impressed with the similarity of the vegetation of the upper **Kowak** [**Kobuk**] Valley to that of the Siberian deer country. Professor Murphy suggests that **Cantwell** first proposed the idea to Townsend, and the Smithsonian scientist's contribution was to find it feasible in terms of the vegetation necessary to sustain ~~them~~⁴ Murphy also **credits** **Cantwell** with bringing **the** suggestion to Mike **Healy's** attention. **Healy**, Cantwell, and Townsend, then jointly concluded that the propagation of reindeer in Alaska, was **a**

practical **possibility**.⁵ The idea even then was not new and was suggested in **1880** by Captain **Hooper**.⁵

Cantwell's article, "Captain **Healy's** Reindeer," published almost **50** years later, also recounts that the **CORWIN's** Officers agreed to purchase a small experimental herd in **1887**.⁷ It is at this point, **Cantwell's** narrative seems to depart from the facts. The story of the BEAR carrying reindeer to Alaska in **1887**, and of **Healy's** success in overcoming the native reluctance to sell them by saving the life of a village chieftain's son, is unsubstantiated by any of the existing **1887** Cruise Reports. **Cantwell** was not one of **Healy's** officers during the cruise of **1887**, and the source of his information is uncertain. Evidence is also lacking in both the subsequent statements by **Healy**, and in the published government reports of Sheldon Jackson.

Cantwell's crediting of Miner Bruce as the caretaker of this small herd of seven deer at Port Clarence, in **1887**, is also the least believable part of the story. As is frequently the case with new ideas, they usually are nurtured by a number of individuals, and remain conjectural until someone is prepared to bring them to fruition. In this instance, it unquestionably was Sheldon Jackson who contributed his formidable energy and talents, to galvanizing the project. In any event, there is more than sufficient credit in the undertaking for all the individuals concerned.

When the BEAR returned to San Francisco at the end of

the 1890 cruise, **Healy** immersed himself in a flurry of activity and correspondence. Sheldon Jackson by this time reached Washington, and was discussing his proposal with ~~officials~~ of the Interior Department and members of Congress. **Healy** advised Jackson, early in December, that he was wearing out shoe leather having the ~~slides~~ made, and suggested that Jackson hold back on publicity until it was first determined how Captain **Shepard** and the Secretary of Treasury would view their project. Captain **Shepard**, **Healy** was certain, would cooperate to the extent of his ability, but would be hesitant to request any supplemental appropriations from Congress, and additional funding might be necessary if government vessels were to be employed. **Healy** also intended to contact J.B. Vincent for more information concerning the rituals governing the purchase of Siberian **Reindeer**.⁸ By the middle of December, **Healy** was able to inform Jackson that he had discussed the Reindeer Project with Captain Charles H. Stockton who agreed to support it in Washington. **Healy** already had asked his brother, Bishop James **Healy**, to discuss the proposal with Thomas B. Reed, the powerful Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Cardinal **Cushing**. Both, the Bishop subsequently informed **Healy** proved receptive, and promised their support."

Two letters were written to Jackson on December 19, by **Healy**. One was a brief note advising that Captain **Herendeen** was coming to Washington to apply for the position of

Superintendent of the Point Barrow Refuge Station. **Healy** informed Jackson that he had already written to Captain **Shepard** suggesting that he oppose **Herendeen's** application, "**He** would be worse than Borden," and asked Dr. Jackson to use his influence to support **L.M.** Stevenson's appointment to replace **Borden.**¹¹ The second letter again suggested that they proceed slowly, and make no attempt to procure funds from Congress until they had at least two years experience, and had evolved a plan to care for the Alaska herd. In the meantime **Healy** proposed that the work of establishing the Arctic schools be continued, with a view to utilizing the teachers in the project. "We should thoroughly prospect and plan this year, and commence operations in **1892** intelligently. This year [**1891**] could be given to the erection of the schools, and mature plans for the introduction and taking care of the animals. Later on, delays are dangerous."

Mike **Healy** answered an earlier enquiry from Jackson concerning the management of the Seal Islands, and expressed his disbelief that the Secretary of Treasury would adopt a plan based exclusively on Elliott's recommendations. "[**A**] Select Committee [of Congress] would probably be best as laying the groundwork for annulling the lease if that is what the Secretary intends to do." A reduced seal harvest, **Healy** agreed, would be desirable, but leaving the islands entirely to the ~~management~~ of the government agents would be worse than permitting the lessees to continue to administer it, "since

they at least would have an interest in not exterminating the seals." He continued: "I think you know as much about these matters as ~~anybody~~. I wish you would have a talk with the Secretary on the subject if you have a **chance**."¹²

The week after Christmas, **Healy** wrote again. "Things ~~shaping~~ up for progress on our projects and in a couple of years expect to see lively improvement in condition of **Eskimos** in **Alaska**."¹³ In another letter, a few days later, **Healy** was able to inform Jackson, "**the** slides are finally ready," and that no useful information, "**worth** writing about," had been obtained from **J.B.** Vincent. **Healy** also expressed his opinion ~~that~~ it would be difficult to map out a firm plan of action, "because you know the natives are so slow and uncertain to work with, and everything will be experimental." He emphasized the importance of making arrangements for receiving the reindeer into Alaska, and suggested St Lawrence Island as the initial location for an experimental **herd**.¹⁴

In Sheldon **Jackson's** correspondence files there is an undated memorandum, in Mike **Healy's** handwriting, prepared evidently in December **1890**, for Jackson's guidance in corresponding with Captain **Shepard**. It suggests that authority be obtained from **Shepard** to permit the BEAR to winter on the Siberian coast so that arrangements could be made for the purchase of reindeer in early spring. "~~While~~ **While** procuring the main objective of **such** an undertaking [purchase of the reindeer], valuable observations and researches could also be

instituted and accomplished [without] any damage to government interests.¹⁵

At the same time, **Healy** and Jackson were working out their plans, Sheldon **Jackson's** characteristic enthusiasm was making itself felt in Washington. Captain **Shepard** wrote **Healy** to inform him that Jackson had requested copies of earlier reports regarding the feasibility of introducing reindeer into Alaska. "Please provide duplicates of the reports that Dr. Jackson is referring to!" The Captain Commandant also asked the **BEAR's** commander to provide him with a frank opinion as to the feasibility of the project, perhaps unaware of how deeply involved **Healy** already was.¹⁶

An outline of the proposal, **was** composed by Jackson and submitted to Commissioner Harris, shortly after arriving in Washington. Lengthy segments of the report are credited to interviews with Captain **Healy**, and a long article that appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle in November, also attributable to **Healy**. Jackson suggested to the Commissioner of Education that implementation **was** feasible under existing Congressional acts authorizing the creation of agricultural schools, and it is interesting that he **was** even at this stage considering the feasibility of using **Lapland** herders from **Sweden**.¹⁷

Jackson **was** also composing a series of articles for publication.¹⁸ It **was** an avocation as Alaska's most effective press **agent**, that he would continue for more than **20**

years. The articles began to appear the following spring in the New York Evangelist, and in other general circulation newspapers. They would be incorporated in his later government reports:

From time immemorial the Eskimos of Alaska have lived upon the whale, the walrus, and the seal of their coasts . . . ~~But~~ fifty years ago American whalers, having largely exhausted the supply in other waters, found ~~thir~~ way ~~into the~~ North Pacific Ocean. They commenced for that section the slaughter of whales that went steadily forward at the rate of hundreds and thousands annually . . . With the destruction of the whale, one large source of food supply for the natives has been cut off . . . Another large supply was derived from the walrus, which once roamed in great numbers in these northern **waters**. But commerce demanded more ivory, and the whalers turned their attention to the walrus . . . The walrus as a source of food supply is already practically extinct . . . The seal and sea lion, once so common in Bering Sea, are now becoming so scarce, that it is with difficulty that the natives procure a sufficient number of skins to cover their boats . . . Thus the support of the people is largely **gone**; and the process of slow starvation and extermination has commenced along the whole Arctic coast of Alaska . . . In this crisis it is important that steps should be taken at once to afford relief. Relief can, of course, be afforded by Congress voting an appropriation to feed them, as it has so many of the North American Indians. [But] there is a better, cheaper, more practical and more **humane** way, and that is to introduce into Northern Alaska the domesticated reindeer of Siberia, and train the young Eskimo men in their management, care and propagation?

In December, Jackson, and Commissioner Harris, succeeded in convincing the Secretary of Interior to propose a bill, authorizing the Department of Interior to receive **funds** under the Agricultural Assistance Act for the creation of an Experimental Reindeer ~~Farms~~²⁰ The Bill was approved in the Republican Senate, but ran into difficulty with the Democratic

controlled House of Representatives. The Senate Bill provided an annual appropriation of **\$60,000**, for five successive years, to be administered by the Department of Interior. The House, was unwilling to accept a five year appropriation. The unusual feature of the Bill was suggested by Jackson because of the long delay in implementing programs for Alaska, but these representations failed to convince the House Ways and Means Committee.

A **'second** alternative was proposed later in December, in the form of a Bill providing for a two year program, and an appropriation of **\$130,000**. Again, Jackson was successful in shepherding it through the Senate. In the House, both Jackson and Harris appeared in support of the measure. Jackson's testimony before the House Education Committee, recounted his experiences in the Arctic. **"When** we got to the Alaska side, especially north of Cape Prince of Wales, from there to Point Barrow, there was a cry everywhere of starvationThe question forced itself upon my attention and also upon the attention of Captain **Healy** What is the best thing to **do?** When I got back **to** Washington the Bureau of Education suggested, why not get Alaska under that fund? [Support of Agricultural **Schools**] All the other States and Territories are under it, why not Alaska? But since Alaska had no legislature it was proposed to have a bill introduced into Congress extending the provisions of the Agricultural Laws to Alaska under the control of the Secretary of **Interior**.."**21** The

House Committee, reported favorably, but reduced the appropriation to **\$15,000**. Even in this form, it failed in the House, and it was not until June **1892**, that Congress finally authorized funding for the Reindeer Project.

Sheldon Jackson, in the interim, decided to take his case to the public. "**It** is so **urgent** and so many lives are at stake." He appealed for donations to begin reindeer purchases the following summer. "**The** reindeer will cost about **\$10** each; consequently all who contribute **\$10**, can have the satisfaction of feeling that they have furnished one reindeer to the herd, and have a share **in** the creation of an industry that will ultimately save thousands of people from **starvation**."²² By spring, Jackson had received more than **\$2,000** in donations. The money was sent to Captain **Healy** to purchase trade goods with which to barter with the Siberian Eskimos, and the project was finally **launched**.²³ Authorization for the continued cooperation of the Revenue Marine, was approved by the Secretary of Treasury, on March **5**, **1891**. Captain **Healy** was directed to investigate the procurement and transportation of the reindeer. He **would** transport Sheldon Jackson on the **1891 voyage**; and was authorized to leave an officer on the Siberian coast to negotiate the purchase of the animals from the **Eskimos**.²⁴

The Arctic Cutter's cruise began early in **1891**, with the Aleutian voyage to transport the witnesses of the **Unga** Island murder. Afterwards, the BEAR returned to Seattle to

take aboard an exploring party under the direction of Professor I. C. Russell of the U.S. Geodetic Survey. Russell would explore and map Mount St. **Elias** that summer. Mary **Healy** again accompanied her husband, **and Healy** intended to land the Russell party at Icy Bay, **40** miles west of **Yakutat**, before returning to **Sitka** to meet Dr. Jackson. However, a tragic accident intervened to mar the beginning of the BEAR's voyage. The cutter arrived at Icy Bay, a dangerous and treacherous place, on June **6**. From where the ship rode at anchor, the surf looked as if a landing could be easily effected, but the shallow water, clogged with silt from the nearby glaciers, opened directly onto the Pacific Ocean where thunderous surges and swells were common even on quiet days. An officer was sent ashore to survey the beach for a landing site, and Mike **Healy** **mounted** the mast head lookout to supervise the operation. Mary **Healy** reported what followed: "From there [**Healy**] gave his orders and warned each boat **several** times not **to take** any chances. The idea of an accident never entered his mind. He also charged each boat to wait outside the breakers until they saw the first boat landed. If she took water then they were to return to the vessel and wait a more favorable opportunity." **25**

Three boats were lowered, and loaded with the expedition's supplies. Lieutenant **D. H. Jarvis** was in **command** of the first boat, Lieutenant **L. L.** Robinson commanded the second, and Lieutenant **H. M.** Broadbent, the third. **Jarvis'**

boat, the first to land through the heavy surf, was seen to surmount the **15** foot high breakers, but as it approached the beach it turned over, and was swamped. From the ship, **Jarvis** could be seen motioning from the beach, to the second boat following, 'not to venture in. But Lieutenant Robinson was already too near the breakers, and his boat broached, turn broadside and was upset. The boat was **50** yards from the beach in deep water, too far away to enable the party already landed to render any assistance to the struggling men. For some unexplained reason, they released their hold on the boat, and made a vain attempt to swim shoreward. "**All** were drowned except one man who held a bag of flour before him. **He** went feet first onto the beach."

Lieutenant **Jarvis** subsequently submitted his report of the incident to **Healy**:

[The] orders as I understood them was to load the boats lightly, take no risks, for me to lead the **way** and pick out the best landing area and after landing to survey the situation and direct the coming in of the other boats which were to wait until I had landed . . . In going in, **I** met the outside surf and took no water until well into the beach, then one sea leaving the boat, she struck bottom and the next one broke over her . . . ~~When~~ I reached the beach I immediately turned to **see where** the other boats were and was horrified **to see** Lt. Robinson's boat had followed close upon me, and was capsized, the men being all in the water close to the edge of the breakers. I ~~led~~ **my** men strung out long the beach ready to help them as they came ashore and called out to them to stay by their boat as **that would** soon come in, but they seemed to strike out for themselves and out of the **seven** in the boat only seaman Wright **came** in close enough for us to pull **him** out of the water . . . [I] **don't** know how the accident happened as **I didn't see** the second boat until after we had landed, but as we were going in a seaman commented that the

second boat was coming up on us too fast and I presume the boat was in the breakers before they were aware of it.²⁶

That ~~nite~~, Lieutenant **Jarvis** and his men, unable to regain the cutter, remained on shore. At high tide, the following afternoon, **Jarvis** managed to get his boat back through the surf and reach the cutter. He reported to **Healy** that a further landing was 'possible, and the boats were ordered as before. One trip was made with all three boats landed safely. As the boats started in through the surf for a second trip, an oarlock ~~on~~ one gave way and it too was upset. The others were recalled by **Healy**, apprehensive that more lives would be lost. The boat that overturned this time was close enough to the beach for the occupants to save themselves and their cargo, but they had to pass another night ashore until high water the next day. When the officer in charge of the overturned boat came back aboard, he reported again ~~that.~~ a safe landing could be made, and the remainder of Russell's party and their supplies were soon ashore. The body of Lieutenant Robinson was brought on board that afternoon, and the vessel turned ~~south~~ towards **Sitka**. Only one other, much disfigured body of a seaman, was washed ashore, and was buried on the beach. "We all feel deeply the accident," Mary **Healy** recorded in her Journal. "It has caused a deep gloom over the vessel. I strained my eyes looking through the glasses and being so anxious to see if we could not possibly find more of

the men ashore." ²⁷

The cutter reached **Sitka** the following day, and preparations were made for Lieutenant Robinson's burial. The **body**, accompanied by **Healy** and his officers, was taken ashore for internment in the National Cemetery. The national ensign was half-masted on the BEAR and on all of the ships in the harbor while Dr. Jackson conducted the ceremonies at the **grave**.²⁸

Several days were spent making final preparations before the BEAR was underway again for **Unalaska**. Ten days were spent there, awaiting the arrival of the coal barge, before **Healy** concluded he could delay no longer and headed north on June **30**, into the Bering Sea. Thick fog and heavy drift ice was encountered. The morning of July **4**, **Healy** and his passengers were roused from their breakfast by the cry, "**land** all around." Rushing to the deck **Healy** discovered the fog had suddenly lifted to reveal the cutter was in danger of running onto the southeast Cape of **St.** Lawrence Island. The easterly set of the current had caused the BEAR to drift **45** miles off course ~~during the~~ night, and another half hour of proceeding in the fog would have found the ship hopelessly aground. It lifted not a moment too **soon**.²⁹ The next day they reached Port Clarence where twenty vessels of the whaling fleet were already **congregated**.³⁰

Healy and Jackson were anxious to engage **J.B. Vincent**, to accompany them and negotiate the purchase of the reindeer.

Vincent had acquired a working knowledge of several of the dialects during his two years of living with the Siberian Eskimos, and was serving as third mate on the whaler, ABRAM BARKER. Jackson also hoped Vincent would accept the post of superintendent at the **Reindeer** Station to be established the following year. Two long meetings were held with Vincent at Port Clarence, and Jackson's plans came to naught when Vincent's skipper refused to release him from his two year **contract**.³¹ Lack of an interpreter would complicate their efforts that summer.

On July 8 the cutter was anchored off the village of Indian Point, prepared to make the first attempt at purchasing reindeer from the **Siberians**. When the Eskimo **Oomalik** or Village Chief came aboard, Captain **Healy** opened the negotiations. In spite of the difficulties of communication, it was soon apparent there was no basis for the belief that superstition prevented the **Siberians** from selling their reindeer, but the chief was hesitant to part with any of his own herd, "**for** he has only a hundred and says he does not like to starve **anymore** than American **Indians**!"³² Nor was **any** progress made in obtaining deer from the other herd owners, as they were unwilling to trade without their **Oomalik's** approval.

Dr. Jackson, disappointed with **the** lack of progress, went ashore with Lieutenant **Jarvis** to visit the village. At the chief's house, Jackson observed **200 sacks** of flour and **80** boxes of tobacco, as well as whale bone which he estimated to

be worth, from **\$5,000** to **\$8,000** in San Francisco. The **Oomalik** was obviously a wealthy man who was personally uninterested in the trade goods they had to offer, and was discouraging the other villagers from doing business with the Americans. Depressed with their prospects, Jackson recorded in his Journal: "**No** one expressed a doubt or any intimation of the natives being unwilling ~~to sell~~ from ~~superstitious~~ notions, but so far yet we have failed to get any." They were also at a disadvantage by having been unable to secure a suitable interpreter: "**They** cannot comprehend why we want ~~them~~." ¹¹³³

Among the Eskimo visitors to the BEAR at Indian Point, was an old man and his son, both of whom possessed a comprehension of English. The younger man agreed to accompany the vessel as an interpreter. The father told Jackson that he would never trust his son to go aboard a whaler, but that he would trust Captain **Healy** to look after ~~him~~. ³⁴ Information obtained from the East Cape Eskimos indicated that larger herds were to be found above Cape **Serdze Karmen** **100** miles north, but the ice conditions would also be more hazardous. **Healy** decided instead to visit Holy Cross Bay, on the northwestern extremity of the Gulf of **Anadyr**. This would involve a circuit of **420** miles, and in view of the necessity to transport the reindeer a greater distance than originally had been anticipated, Jackson and **Healy** had to take stock of their plans for feeding them while they were on the cutter. They had hoped to secure the reindeer within a few hours run

from St. Lawrence Island, but deer transported from Holy Cross Bay would be afloat ~~from 30~~ to 48 hours, and the question of their food supply became critical. It also appeared unlikely that their original plan to utilize St. Lawrence Island would be feasible when they ~~learned~~, an earlier attempt by the **Siberians** to transplant deer there had been ~~unsuccessful~~. 35

It was the first time Mike **Healy** had visited Holy Cross Bay, and it was a dangerous place to explore, with the sketchiest of charts as their only guide. More floating ice and fog was encountered as the cutter crept cautiously into the shallow, ~~unsurveyed~~ anchorage, and twice the vessel was almost aground before it finally **came** to anchor on July 14.. Two days were spent waiting for the fog to lift. At length, four Eskimo **umiats** came cautiously alongside, and diligent inquiry was made for reindeer. Two men were found who agreed to sell five animals, but the deer were on the inaccessible west side of the Bay. The following day, an attempt was made to find a landing place there, but the BEAR was compelled to anchor several hundred yards from the beach.

Although Dr. Jackson, Lieutenant **Jarvis** and Engineer **F. B. Falkenstein** succeeded, after **some** difficulty, in reaching the shore, it was impossible to transport the deer. When Jackson returned that afternoon, he found more Eskimo **umiats** alongside the cutter. ~~Lartgidargin~~, the leading reindeer herd owner at Holy Cross Bay had agreed, the following year, to

furnish **25** deer in exchange for five rifles. He was also anxious to acquire a whaleboat like those carried on the BEAR, for which he would trade a further **20** animals. **Lartgidargin** also promised to enlist other herd owners to sell their deer, and assured Jackson and **Healy**, that **200** reindeer would be ~~available~~ for trade the following summer, and would be driven to the beach in the middle of July. The trade articles asked in exchange, were center fire cartridges, powder, shot, bullet moulds and reloading equipment.³⁶

Jackson and **Healy** felt they had accomplished everything possible at Holy Cross Bay. Although no deer had been procured, they had obtained ~~commitments~~ for the following year, and the cutter was soon headed into Bering Sea. Mary **Healy**, glad to be away from the dangerous anchorage, went to bed feeling secure, not expecting that they would encounter any large cakes of ice crossing the Gulf of **Anadyr**, as none had been seen during their trip to Holy Cross Bay. "[B]ut I was not in bed long before [I] felt the jar of the vessel as it hit and I thought that it was just a stray piece of ice from the west side of Holy Cross Bay, but it was repeated again and again. Soon the jarring became so violent that I thought best to get up and dress. As I went on deck a large piece of ice met my gaze and . . . Oh so Cold! 'I hastened to the pilot house and there watched the BEAR walk through it, as if she did not consider it worth her notice, and she did hit many hard pieces which made her shiver and ~~shake~~!'"³⁷

Their lack of success, together with the realization that St. Lawrence Island seemed an unlikely place for an experimental herd, forced a reconsideration of their plans.

Healy and Jackson decided to continue their efforts to procure a small number of the animals; later in the summer. These they would take to San Francisco. If successful, they would gain experience in transporting* the animals, and their appearance in the Bay City would aid in publicizing the project. When the ice cleared from the coast, they would try again at Cape **Serdze**. The interpreter was put ashore after rewarding him with with a Winchester repeating rifle, and a **100** cartridges. **Healy** and Jackson hoped to gain the good will of the **Siberians**, and knew that word would soon be spread along the coast of the valued weapons being offered for **reindeer**.³⁸

The BEAR was unable to reach Point **Barrow** during the summer of **1891**. The ice hugged the coastline around Icy Cape late into August. The whalers congregated along the coast remained until the ice opened, but the BEAR had other business to attend to on the Siberian coast. On August **23** the cutter turned back **from** the Arctic Ocean, and four days later was anchored at the Siberian village of **Enchowan**, near Cape **Serdze**. There the reindeer herders proved more willing to trade. Four deer were purchased, and a number of others offered for sale, had reluctantly, to be refused. Jackson remarked: "[H]aving failed in procuring herders, and having no place ready to receive them, and not knowing whether we could

procure food such as they **would** eat, we thought it provident to receive only four on **board**"³⁹ Next morning, Lieutenant **Jarvis** was sent with a boat's crew to load the animals, while the ship's carpenter built stalls on deck. It was their first successful venture in purchasing the Siberian reindeer. "**This** is a great event," Jackson recorded, "**It** is now to be tested how well they will bear **transportation**,"⁴⁰ Mary **Healy** observed the reindeer, "**They** are beautiful creatures and gentle as lambs. I hope we may be able to get them to San Francisco, what a sensation they will **create**"⁴¹

The cutter stopped at King's Island **enroute** back to the Alaska coast, and found starvation stalking the Eskimo community. During the previous winter only two walrus had been taken by the villagers. The emergency food supply stored in their ice cave were exhausted. Half of the population of **200** already had left for the mainland in search of food, and those left behind were close to starvation. Their dogs were already killed, and only roots and seaweed remained as a food source until November when ice conditions would allow seal hunting to **begin**."⁴²

Mike **Healy** realized starvation was inevitable, and appealed to his officers to contribute to the purchase of food to see the King Islanders through the winter, "**I** know all of you have too deep an interest in the natives of this section. to leave them to what seems now a most **probable, fate** . . . I shall therefore be obliged to test the proverbial generosity

of the sailor and the amount of interest each may take in the **life Or death of these natives.**"⁴³ From the **subscription** of **\$150.00,, Healy** purchased one hundred bags of flour and several chests of tea, all the food that was available from the trading post at St. **Michaels.** Nine cases of food were taken from the reindeer trade goods, supplemented by six boxes of **ship's** biscuit and seven barrels of flour from the supplies earmarked for the Point Barrow Refuge Station. The provisions were landed at King's Island on September **6..** "With careful use," **Healy** observed, "this will be sufficient to bridge the gap until sealing begins and save them from starvation, otherwise it is probable that what occurred on St. Lawrence Island will **reoccur.**"⁴⁴ Mike **Healy** recognized that the plight of the King Islanders was partially attributable to the misplaced government policy that prohibited the trading of breech loading rifles. "Their very lives depend on their' success in hunting seal and walrus which the white man have made so shy and scarce that native spears are of little avail and the slow and **poor' muzzle** loading arms are little **better."**⁴⁵ The cutter was carrying modern rifles and ammunition for trading on the Siberian coast, "**but** I am prevented from disbursing them in face of the law and orders received yearly from the department."⁴⁶

Jackson and **Healy** were both encouraged by their success with the reindeer purchased at **Enchowan.** The animals thrived on a diet of ship's oats. Emboldened by this experience, they

returned to Indian Point, and loaded an additional twelve animals. With sixteen reindeer on board the BEAR returned to St. **Michaels** where they had a fortuitous encounter with a group of explorers they found waiting there. The Frank Leslie Illustrated Magazine **had sent** a party earlier in the year to explore the interior of Alaska and descend the Yukon River to the coast. The magazine correspondents were welcomed by Jackson and **Healy** and thoroughly briefed during their trip south. They observed the animals in their pens on the deck of the cutter, and the articles which appeared in the widely circulated national magazine the following year, **would** extol the benefits of pursuing the Reindeer Project in Alaska.

Mike **Healy's** report of the cruise was full of optimism, recounting their successful transport of four reindeer from Siberia to San Francisco, and their placing of **12** animals at ~~Unalakleet~~ **Unalakleet**. "Many plans and ideas which we started with have been changed, superstitions explored and the matter of the introduction of the animals into Alaska has taken such a hold on both the natives and the whites that it is now the most important question bearing upon the country." **Healy** was certain the Alaskan Eskimos would quickly see the advantage of the animals and be anxious to acquire them. The deer they found to be hardy, docile, and easily transported. Reindeer, Mike **Healy** enthusiastically claimed were the answer to three vital questions of existence in the north, "**food**, clothing, and **transportation**." **47**

Mike **Healy** was a favorite with the newspaper reporters in San Francisco, and was always good for a story. Reporters from the San Francisco Chronicle interviewed him at length. concerning **the successes** of the **1891** cruise. The threat of famine at King's Island provided a telling example of the dire need for supplementing the Eskimo food sources:

I have seen almost the entire population of St. Lawrence Island lying strewn about their huts dead from starvation. And this winter the same fate may be that of King's Island. Upon my visit there, the natives were reduced to the direst extremities. We hope [the supplies provided] will tide them over . . . But this hope is not without misgiving that upon my return in the spring I shall find many of them cold in
death.48

Jackson also reported their progress that summer to Commissioner Harris. The **Siberians** did not use, or understand money, and dealing with them, he told Harris, "**takes** a lot of time." They also did not understand, "**what** we wanted them **for**," or "**our**" motives in providing them for the Alaskan Eskimos as a food source. There was also the difficulty in obtaining reliable interpreters, and the: "**Siberians** were afraid that the trade in live reindeer might hurt their own centuries old commerce in reindeer skins." While there was no superstitious taboo against the sale of the animals, many herd owners, they found, were reluctant to part with live reindeer. "**If** a man sells his deer to us and an epidemic or other misfortune breaks out during the winter, then the Shaman will blame it on the sale of the **deer**." Jackson also acknowledged

their own lack of planning to provide adequately for feeding the reindeer while they were on shipboard. In spite of these problems, they had been successful.

Jackson was also anxious to continue the working relationship with the Revenue Marine. Captain **Healy's** participation, he informed Harris, was **essential** to the future success of the undertaking, "[**Healy**] has taken a **very** deep interest in the work, has given it his personal attention, and done everything in his power to further **it**." It was important that Mike **Healy** be kept in command of the Arctic Cutter for at least the next two years. "[**Healy**] is well known for thousands of miles on both sides of the Coast and the natives have confidence in him. With a stranger in command I am confident that but little could have been accomplished this season." Jackson suggested that arrangements be made to have **Healy** visit Washington to, "confer personally with yourself, with the secretaries and other friends of the **enterprise**"⁴⁹

The following year, **1892**, was one of even greater emphasis in the protection of the fur seals. The BEAR's role would remain important, and **Healy** again was responsible for patrolling the **Pribilof** Islands in the late fall. What was now denominated the "**North** Pacific Squadron" was commanded that year by Captain **Robley D.** Evans, of the **U.S.S.** YORKTOWN. Evans intended to go about his task differently, and to concentrate his efforts on the capture of the elusive sealer's supply **ship**.⁵⁰ The BEAR would join **Evans'** command in September,

but during the summer **Healy** was authorized continue his cooperation with Sheldon **Jackson**.⁵¹

A critical need was for-someone to supervise the reindeer station that Jackson and **Healy** agreed would be established at Port Clarence in **1892**. **J. B.** Vincent was the logical choice, but when Congress failed to appropriate any funds, Vincent signed on as Mate of a whaler, Jackson tried to convince him to relinquish his contract, "**but** he refused." His absence, particularly as an interpreter was sorely felt. "**With** Vincent we could have procured two Siberian herders, but without his help, have obtained none, [it was] not good to do so without **him**."⁵² Someone had to be found to supervise the operation, and whoever was selected Jackson felt, should be acceptable to Mike **Healy**. A second choice was the Deputy U.S. Marshal at **Unalaska**, John Anthony. He had shown an interest, and agreed to care for the twelve reindeer placed at **Unalaska**, the previous fall. Anthony too, turned the appointment down. Deputy Marshals, receiving no salary, were customarily reimbursed from the fees of their office. Expecting that a **large** number of seized schooners would be brought into **Unalaska** as a result of the increased naval effort in **1892**, he was reluctant to accept the **post**.⁵³

The circumstances that led ultimately to Miner **W.** Bruce selection, are not easy to comprehend. Bruce managed to insinuate himself into the position largely by playing on the gullibility, and perhaps even the vanity, of Sheldon Jackson.

A native of Nebraska, Bruce apparently became acquainted with Jackson at **Sitka** in **1891**.. They shared common political interests, and possibly religious interests, as well. Late in **1891**; Bruce was at **Unalaska**, conducting a survey of public buildings for the Department of the Interior. It was a contract position of three months duration that he had wrangled with the assistance of the Congressional Delegation of his native State. Bruce was interested in having Dr. Jackson's support in securing an extension of his commission until February, claiming that his work could not be completed before that time. His November, **1891** letter to Jackson, is full of gossip concerning political personalities in Alaska and Washington. Bruce also mentions having observed the reindeer at **Unalaska**: "**They are thriving**"⁵⁴ In December, Bruce wrote again to express his thanks for Jackson's intercession, on his behalf, with the Secretary of **Interior**.⁵⁵ Bruce returned to Washington the following April, and Jackson offered him the position as Superintendent of the proposed Reindeer Station. Captain **Healy** wired his approval, "**[the appointment] is perfectly satisfactory with me.**"⁵⁶ Later in the year, at San Francisco, Bruce engaged Bruce Gibson, a native of that city as his assistant, and informed Commissioner Harris that Gibson had, "**every** qualification for the appointment." The letter was sent from Port Clarence after Bruce's arrival there, and presumably neither Harris nor Jackson could object at that late

stage.⁵⁷ Miner Bruce's selection would subsequently bedevil both **Healy** and Jackson.

The extravagant distribution of trading goods on the Siberian coast the **preceeding** year, **as** well as the **commitments** obtained, presaged an active **1892** season for the BEAR. The cutter reached **Unalaska** on May **23**, and continued to Port Clarence to find the whaling fleet already congregated there. Also waiting in the anchorage was the **steam** whaler NEWPORT. On board, in addition to Miner Bruce and his assistant, Gibson, were Harrison Thornton, the Prince of Wales school teacher with his new bride. The NEWPORT carried the supplies for the Reindeer **Station**, whose location had still to be selected. The site chosen by **Healy**, was **Grantley** Harbor on the north shore of Port Clarence. The small harbor served as a watering point for the vessels of the whaling fleet, and had been used in **1865** as the Alaska headquarters of the Russo-American Telegraph Expedition.

Their stores were landed, and Bruce with his assistant, took up temporary quarters. The following day, the BEAR started **for** the Siberian coast to load the reindeer that would serve as the nucleus of the Alaska herds. At Cape **Kregulin** the ship's boats soon were engaged in bringing the first cargo of **41** reindeer to the cutter. Two Siberian herders were hired to accompany the deer, the first of eight that would be brought to Port Clarence to care for the herd that **winter.**⁵⁸ Another **12** were procured the following day, and the cutter **was**

soon back at the Reindeer. Station with its cargo. Jackson recorded the landing of the animals: **"The** deer with their four feet tied together were brought ashore in launches and carried up the bluff in litters. Then they were untied, hobbled and turned loose. Three ran away ~~immediately~~ to the mountains, and gave the herders a long chase, but were finally **recovered.**"⁵⁹

The BEAR headed back for Siberia almost ~~immediately~~ for another load of reindeer. A visit to the village of Whalen was unsuccessful, but at ~~Enchowan~~, Dr. Call, the ship's surgeon, who by this time ~~had progressed~~ to the position of chief reindeer trader, went ashore and returned to the beach that afternoon with sixteen deer. July **15** at Cape **Serdze Karmen**, Dr. Call and Engineer **Falkenstein** procured a further **21** animals. The following day was spent waiting for them to be brought to the beach, while heavy masses of floating ice from the Arctic forced frequent shifting of the cutter's position. The ice grew heavier, next day, and communication with the shore became more difficult. Dr. Call and his party were temporarily stranded, until late in the evening, when the wind shifted and loosened the ice pack's grip on the beach. All **nite** was spent ramming through the ice as the cutter fought its way east into Bering Sea, but by morning they were drifting helplessly in the closely packed floes. After two days of constant ramming, the BEAR was finally able to break through into open water.

At **Utam**, while the interminable negotiations with the local herd owners continued, a lookout reported a large ice floe bearing down from the north. Soon it became a whole field of closely packed ice ridges. Anxious not to be caught again, **Healy** ordered steam raised. and a full speed run began towards open water. The ice was driving down in a solid, unbroken field with large detached pieces racing ahead like scouts to block the **BEAR's** passage. No time could be wasted in avoiding them, and they were met head-on, and thrust aside. The cutter reached the protecting cape just as the ice field swung in to close the ~~inlet.~~⁵⁶ The ice conditions made their stay on the Siberian coast hazardous, but they succeeded in purchasing **56** reindeer before the cutter headed back again to Port Clarence.

The BEAR sailed on its third reindeer buying expedition August **3d.** Although several village were visited few deer were procured, and at Holy Cross Bay, Dr. Jackson's frustration with the laborious trading negotiations was evident from the passage he recorded in his journal:

Inquiries were at once made for reindeer. At **various** times **they** represented them as close to, and far off [from the beach] - that they had been driven [to the beach] earlier in the summer, but not seeing the ship there, they had driven them back into the country. That the mosquitoes were too bad. At one time offering to sell a ship full, then nine, then three. When they thought we wanted bucks, they had only does to sell, and when they found we wanted does, then their herd was all bucks. They also asked two prices-for what they proposed to sell, and reasoned of the prospective increase. If they sold a doe, she would bear another next season and so increasing [the herd] from year to

year, while the cartridges for which they traded would be used up and they would have nothing. The Captain met their argument with another, that if their deer should die next year **they** would have nothing and starve, while if they had cartridges they could shoot walrus and seal, and **lived**. For what we would pay them they could [also] trade with natives further back and get two deer for one. Finally after five hours talk, changing and **rechanging** their **minds**, the boat was lowered at **8:45** p.m., Dr. Call, Engineer **Falkenstein**, [the] interpreter and a crew of men set off for three- **61**

When the BEAR returned from Point Barrow in September, two further voyages to the Siberian coast would raise the total to **175** reindeer delivered that year, to Port Clarence. Eight Siberian herders accompanied them. Sheldon Jackson was anxious to make the results of the summer's work known. Interviewed on his arrival in San Francisco he announced: "[We] have succeeded beyond our expectations [and] have procured a herd of **175** reindeer and established them at Port Clarence. . . . This is the commencement of an exercise which will civilize and save the **Eskimaux** of Alaska, but will ultimately people these dreary wastes, and make even Arctic Alaska add to the national **wealth**!" Jackson was quick to point out that the work had been accomplished entirely with the help of private contributions, although Congress in June finally approved an appropriation of **\$15,000**. "**The** animals we purchased this year cost an average of about **\$5** a **head**." **62**

Jackson returned to Washington and reported to Congress: "**The** proposition to introduce domesticated reindeer into Alaska has excited widespread and general interest, and is being

successfully implemented. These gratifying results could not however have been attained without the hearty and active cooperation of the Revenue Marine **Service.**"⁶³

The third summer of the Reindeer Project operations began on June **17,, 1893,,** when, **39** deer were loaded at Plover Bay on the Siberian Coast. Lieutenant David **Jarvis,,** now replaced **Dr.** Call as the principal reindeer negotiator. Further progress along the coast was blocked by heavy ice, and trading was temporarily suspended. At Port Clarence, Miner Bruce came aboard with the good news that the Alaska herd had increased with the birth of **79** foals, that spring. Jackson was **elated.**⁶⁴

Before heading back to Siberia the BEAR stopped at Cape Prince of Wales. A letter from Harrison **R..** Thornton was waiting for Jackson when they reached **Unalaska.** Thornton urgently sought a **meeting,** and at Prince of Wales, the missionary teacher poured forth his grievances. Miner Bruce and his assistant Gibson, Thornton alleged, had conducted themselves scandalously during the winter, cohabiting with Eskimo **women** and trading firearms and whiskey **for Eskimo** furs. **Healy** and Jackson were forced to change their plans and return to Port Clarence to investigate Thornton's complaints against Bruce. A search of the Eskimovillage near the Reindeer Station confirmed that Bruce had traded several breech loading rifles **for** furs. **Healy,,** incensed at the illegal trading with contraband articles, recommended Bruce and Gibson's dismissal.

It was a course of action Jackson had already decided upon, but for a different **reason**.⁶⁵ Jackson confided in his Journal, "As Mr. Bruce also hid from me the licentiousness of his assistant, Mr. Bruce Gibson, I concluded that perhaps the best interests of the station required a complete change of officials."* ⁶⁶

William **Lopp**, the second Prince of Wales teacher, agreed to replace Bruce at the Reindeer Station, as much to be away from Thornton, as for any other reason. Jackson was anxious to have Bruce and Gibson out of the station as soon as possible, but Mike **Healy** refused to transport them. When they went ashore together at **Grantley** Harbor on July 4, the station was found to be in a thoroughly unsatisfactory condition. The native herders were living in hovels, and Bruce had done nothing to improve his own living accommodations. Valuable stores had been left uncovered, to deteriorate in the weather. At Jackson's request, **Healy** detailed one of his officers, Lieutenant **C. M. White**, to take charge of the station, pending **Lopp's** arrival. Bruce and Gibson were told to arrange their own transportation to **Unalaska** were Jackson would pay them off.⁶⁷

Healy sailed again on July 8, returning a few days later with 30 reindeer. Lieutenant White reported that during the cutter's absence, Bruce and Gibson had departed for **Unalaska**, but before leaving, Bruce engaged the master of the schooner **BERWICK** to purchase reindeer on the Siberian coast,

representing that he would be acting for the government, and the deer would be received at the station. Lieutenant White told **Healy** that Bruce also had obstructed his efforts to put the station in **order.**⁶⁸ When the schooner **BERWICK** arrived a few days later with **14** reindeer traded at **Enchowan,** **Healy** refused to permit them to be ~~landed.~~⁶⁹

Mike **Healy** was' outraged when he learned that the **BERWICK** had procured deer promised to the BEAR, and acquired them by trading five gallons of whiskey and repeating firearms. Private trading, under the guise of government authorization, was certain to antagonize the Russian authorities. In order to forestall future private trading, **Healy** recommended to the Treasury Department that any vessels engaged in trading for reindeer on the Siberian coast, be required to obtain a Customs clearance at **Unalaska,** and suggested: "~~[T]hat~~ all possible restriction of the customs laws [should] be put upon such **traffic.**"⁷⁰ **Healy** also recommended that the Department of Interior designate **Grantley** Harbor as a Government Reservation, and prohibit the introduction of reindeer other than those landed from government **vessels.**⁷¹

Healy learned from White that Bruce had taken a number of the Siberian herders and their families with him, intent upon exhibiting them in San Francisco. "**If** I had been there, I would not have allowed the natives to go, as all I can see for them is destitution and ~~suffering.~~"⁷² **He was alarmed that**

after all that had been said about the high principles of the Reindeer Project, the first superintendent **of** the Reindeer Station engaged in trading for the animals with whiskey, and was now proposing to, "~~show~~ off the natives in a dime side show in San Francisco.". Mary **Healy** wrote to Jackson to inform him of what had transpired at the station, since his departure. "**You** can imagine that the Captain is incensed at [Bruce's] audacity, to take advantage of the . . . permission given us by the Russian Government to trade firearms for reindeer on the Siberian side. You left here just [at] the wrong time, as so many things came up to be settled. Captain says he is sick and tired of trying to make things right up here, for the white man cannot be relied on, and they respect the law **only** because they know he is here with officers and men who will make them respect what is **right**!"⁷³ **Healy** subsequently wrote to Jackson from Point Barrow concerning the matters that had transpired at the Reindeer Station after his departure:

I do not think a worse possible selection than Bruce could have been made. I believe that the present prosperous condition of the station is in no way due to him . . . Doctor, **I am** beginning to believe that you are not a very good judge of men, and are easily deceived by a smooth tongue . . . we cannot be too strict or carefree with people in this country. At the very beginning, **man's** cupidity tends to destroy or bring to scandal, one of the most praiseworthy projects ever started for the benefit of a neglected race . . . You could not but notice that silently I was very much opposed to' Bruce as superintendent at **Port** Clarence. My 'opposition began after one or two days in his company."⁷⁴

It was only when Gibson and Bruce arrived at **Unalaska**, that Jackson learned they had brought eleven Eskimos with him, including the leading Siberian herder and his family. Jackson was, "**much** put out about **it**," particularly since he knew the herders would be needed by **Lopp** at the **station**.⁷⁵ **William T. Lopp** in a letter to Jackson described the conditions he found at the station when he arrived, and that Bruce had attempted to entice the Siberian herders to accompany him, offering repeating rifles if they would go. Of the three remaining, only two agreed to stay during the coming winter. **Lopp** suggested to Jackson that Bruce be told that his trading of rifles at Port Clarence was not the only, or even the principal reason, for his being **discharged**.⁷⁶ **Jackson** neglected to do so, and subsequently informed Commissioner Harris that the illegal trading in firearms had been the cause of his dismissal, and that Mike **Healy** had insisted upon it. As subsequent events would show, Miner **Bruce's** bitterness was directed primarily against Mike **Healy**, and his spite would manifest itself later in San Francisco.

In August, after the BEAR returned from Point Barrow two further transports of thirty six deer were made from the Siberian coast. On August **28 Healy** learned of Harrison **Thornton's** murder, and the season was cut short by the necessity of transporting the prostrate Mrs. Thornton to **Unalaska**. The first year of the operation of the Reindeer Station proved to be a qualified success. 'The **animals**

transplanted to the Alaskan Arctic proved their ability to thrive in the new environment. The disappointing experience with Bruce and Gibson reinforced the lessons Mike **Healy** learned in the Arctic on previous occasions; that many white men brought to the **North.had** a single objective of gaining as much personal advantage as possible during the short period.. of their stay. Any scheme that would prove personally advantageous **was** likely to be embraced, if the least opportunity presented itself. It was, unfortunately, this type of man who all too often was attracted to the country. The one fortuitous result would prove to be William **Lopp's** appointment as manager of the Reindeer Station.

Notes

1. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Preliminary Report to W.T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, Department of Interior, On the Introduction of Reindeer into Alaska, 12 November 1890,, (Washington: GPO, 1891) (Printed & Unprinted versions, Unnumbered pages, and Appendixes A & B), Jackson Papers. Hereafter: Jackson Report to Commissioner Harris; Hicnckley, The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson, 251, fn 23, observes that Captain Healy, "seems to have conveyed the idea to Jackson, but others also had conceived the measure." Clarence C. Hulley, Alaska Past and Present, (Portland: Binford & Mont, 1958),; 240-1.

2. Jackson Report to Commissioner Harris, ((3d unnumbered page)). "These Acts of Congress require the assent of the legislature of the State or Territory in order that their provisions may become available . . . But Alaska has no legislature, and is governed directly by Congress. On this account . . . Congress has committed to the Secretary of the Interior the duty of making 'needful and proper provision for education in Alaska.' It is, therefore, eminently proper that he should be authorized to extend to Alaska the. benefits of the agricultural acts of 1887 and 1890,, and secure the establishment of a school that can introduce reindeer into that region, and teach their management, care, and propagation, and also to conduct a series of experiments to determine the agricultural capabilities of the country."

3. Healy, Cruise of the Corwin 1885, "Report of Charles H. Townsend,** 87-88,, Appendix G; Jackson Report to Commissioner Harris,, ((6th unnumbered page)).

4. Report of Charles H. Townsend, 89..

5. John Francis Murphy, **Cutter Captain: The Life and Timea of John C. Cantwell,** Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1968,, 50-52.

6. Ibid., 50.. Both Jackson and Healy also acknowledge that the Alaska Commercial Co. introduced a herd of reindeer into the Aleutian Islands during the 1880's,, but the details of this are obscure.

7. John C. Cantwell, **Captain Healy 's Reindeer," Marine Corps Gazette, 21 ((1935)) 52.. Cantwell was active in publicizing the project from the beginning and contributed articles to The Californian and Harpers.

8. Healy to Jackson,, 9 December 1890,, Jackson Papers.

- 9.. Healy to Jackson, 17 December 1890,, Jackson Papers.
- 10.. Ibid.,
- 11! Healy to Jackson, 19 December 1890,, ~~Jackson~~ Papers.
- 12 Healy to Jackson, 19 December 1890 ((2d Letter, same date:)), Jackson Papers. .
- 13! Healy to Jackson, 28 December 1890,, Jackson Papers. !
14. Healy to Jackson, 31 December 1890,, Jackson Papers.
- 15.. Memorandum, Undated, Unsigned (November-December, 1890)), Jackson Papers.
- 16 Shepard to Healy,, 6 December 1890,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.
- 17.. Jackson Report to Commissioner Harris, ((8th unnumbered page)).
- 18.. Theodore C. ~~Hinckley~~, '*Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian Lobbyist for the Great Land of Alaska,*' Journal of Presbyterian History, 40 ((1962)) 3-23..
- 19.. New York Evangelist, 7,, 14 May 18. Jackson Report to Commissioner Harris, ((11th unnumbered page), Jackson Papers. Similar appeals were published also in a number of newspapers of general circulation..
- 20.. U.S. Congress, Acting Secretary George Chandler to President of Senate, December 15,, 1890,, H. Rpt.. 3414,, 51st Cong.,, 2d sess.,, 1890; Jackson to Secty., Interior, 2 April 1891,, Jackson Papers.
- 21.. Congressional Record, 51st Cong.,, 2d sess.,, 9 January 1891,,..1054 ~~et seq.~~
22. New York Evangelist, 14 May 1891; Boston Transcript, 12 May 1891; Boston Mail and Express, 14 May 1891; Chicago Times, 16 April 1893; Chicago Tribune, 15 April 1893..
- 23.. Commissioner Harris to Sheldon Jackson, 8 June 1891,, Jackson Papers. Commissioner Harris evidently acted as treasurer and a total of \$2700 was collected. It is evident that Harris took a strong personal interest in the Reindeer Project.-
- 24.. Treasury ~~Secty.~~ Charles Foster to Secretary of Interior,

5 March 1891,, (Answering request of February 27,, 1891)), Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

25.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 6 June 1891..

26.. Lieut.. Jarvis to Healy,, 9 June 1891; Healy to Secty.. Treasury, 11 June 1891,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives. The endorsement at the bottom of Jarvis' report in Captain Healy's handwriting: "There is nothing further remains to be said and it also shows that orders in regard to the landing were fully understood by the officers in charge of the boats."

27.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 6 June 1891..

28.. The burial took place at the National Cemetery in Sitka.. The cemetary originally was established as an adjunct to the military post and has been continued as a National Cemetary.. Lieutenant Robinson was 30 years old at the time of his death. A native of Kansas, he had been an officer of the Revenue Marine for five years, and previously served on the Corwin in Alaska waters, and on the Walcott at Port Townsend. Sitka Alaskan, 10 June 1891..

29. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 4 July 1891,, Jackson Papers..

30.. Journal of Mary Healy,, 5 July 1891..

31 Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 5 July 1891; Jackson to Harris, 26 August 1891,, Jackson Papers.

32. Journal of Mary Healy,, 8 July 1891..

33. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 10 July 1891..

34. Ibid.-

35.. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 11 July 1891.. Both Healy and Jackson were hesitant to leave the herd on St. Lawrence without supervision. That they might be killed for food by the islanders was only part of their concern. If the initial herd was wiped out. they were afraid word would get back to Siberia and make further trading impossible.

36.. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 18 July 1891; Healy to Secty., Treasury, 17 September 1891,, Revenue Marine Files, RG 26,, National Archives. Captain Shepard was very concerned that Jackson should first obtain authorization from the Russian Government for the trading of firearms to the Siberian Eskimos. Shepard to Jackson, 7 May 1891,, Jackson Papers.

Permission was subsequently obtained by Jackson **thru** the State Department.

37.. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 18 July, 1891..

38 Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 24 July 1891; **Healy** to Secty., Treasury, 17 September 1891,, Revenue Marine Files, RG 26,, National Archives.

39. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 27 August 1891..

40.. Ibid.,

41.. Journal of Mary **Healy**, 28 August 1891..

42. **Healy** to **Secty.**., Treasury, 17 September 1891,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

43.. **Healy** to Wardroom Officers (Bear), 1 September 1891,, **Andrews** Papers.

44.. **Healy** to **Secty.**., Treasury, 17 September 1891,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

45! Ibid.

46 Ibid. **Healy** and Captain **Hooper** frequently protested about the restriction on the sale of firearms to the Alaskan Eskimos. **Healy** asked Dr. Jackson to do what he could to lift the ban. Acting Secretary **Spaulding** seemed favorable, but the time was inopportune. The Special Agent for the Fur Seal Islands felt that any relaxation of the ban would be considered by Great Britain as a violation of the Modus Vivendi, then in force. Agent Williams to **Spaulding**, 4 December 1891,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

47.. **Healy** to **Secty.**., Treasury, 17 September 1891,, Revenue Marine Files, RG 26,, National Archives.

48! ~~San Francisco Chronicle~~, 12 October 1891..

49.. Jackson to Commissioner Harris, 26 August 1891,, Jackson Papers. **Healy** ~~did~~ reluctantly, come East the following spring. **Secty.** **Spaulding** to **Healy**, 19 January 1892; Jackson to **Healy**, 29 April 1892,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

50.. Evans succeeded in capturing the sealer's supply ship. The **S.S. Coquitlam** was boarded by Captain **Hooper** in Prince William Sound on June 22d.. When Captain **Robley D. Evan's** memoirs: A Sailor's Recollections of Forty Years of Naval Life, were published, they created a stir in Canada because

they indicated that Evans was prepared to violate international law to achieve his objective.

51. **Secty.** Treasury to **Healy**, 21, 22 April 1892,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

52.. Jackson to Commissioner Harris, 26 August 1891; earlier, Harris had approved the employment of J. B. Vincent, Harris to Jackson, 8 June 1891,, Jackson Papers.

53.. Bruce to Jackson, 6 November 1891; Bruce to ~~Commissioner~~ Harris; 1 June 1892,, Jackson Papers.

54.. Bruce to Jackson, 7 ~~November~~ 1891,, Jackson Papers. The record is not clear, but Bruce is also referred to in Jackson's correspondence as having at one time been a teacher, and may have been employed by Sheldon Jackson, or considered for a teaching position in S.E. Alaska.

55.. Bruce to Jackson, 28 December 1891,, Jackson Papers.

56.. (Telegram) **Healy** to Bruce, 13 April 1892,, Jackson Papers.

57.. **Bruce** to Commissioner Harris, 1 June 1892,, Jackson Papers.

58.. Neither the Siberian nor the Alaskan Eskimos proved satisfactory for the management of the Alaska herds, and Dr. Jackson brought in **Lapp** herders from northern Scandinavia in 1898. Several of these men were subsequently to stake the richest gold mine **claims** at **Nome** a year later.

59.. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 4 July 4, 1892..

60. Ibid., 21 July, 3 August 1892..

61. Ibid., 10 August 1892.

62. San Francisco Chronicle, 12 October 1892.. Lieutenant **John C. Cantwell** also became an active publicist of the project, verifying his early interest and participation with Dr. Townsend. As well as writing the article many years later which appeared in the Marine Corps Gazette, in November, 1892,, he forwarded to Jackson the draft of an article which was subsequently printed in the January, 1893 issue of The Californian, promising to send sufficient copies to 7 distribute to Congressmen, "to influence public opinion." **Cantwell** subsequently prepared articles for Harpers and Chautauquan, concerning the Reindeer Project. **Cantwell** to Jackson 2 November, 1 December 1892; 12 January 1893; **Healy**

to Jackson, 31 December 1892,, Jackson Papers.

63.. U.S. Congress, "**Report** of the Commissioner of Education on the Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into **Alaska**," (**Report** written by Sheldon Jackson); Senate **Miscelll. Doc.. 22,, 52d** Congress, **2d sess.,, 1892..** !

64.. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 22 June 1893..

65.. **Healy** to Jackson, 3 July 1893; Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 7 July 1893,, Jackson Papers.

66.. Sheldon Jackson Travel Journal, 3 July 1893..

67. Ibid., 4 July 1893; Jackson requested that **Healy** assign an **officer** to take charge of the station, Jackson to **Healy**, 5 July 1893,, Jackson Papers; **Healy** to Lt. White, 5 July 1893; **Healy** to **Secty.,,** Treasury, 2 August 1893,, Revenue Marine Records, **RG 26,,** National Archives.

68.. Lt. White to **Healy**, 18 July 1893,, Alaska File, **RG 26,,** National Archives.

69.. **Healy** to **Secty.,,** Treasury, 2 August 1893,, Revenue Marine Records, **RG 26,,** National Archives.'

70.. Ibid.

71 Ibid., **Healy** also wrote to Dr. Jackson, 5 July 1893,, Jackson Papers.

Bruce informed me that he had permission from you to purchase deer and place them in the herd, notwithstanding which I have forbidden any deer which Wagner may bring for him to be intermixed with the herd, and have laid claim in the name of the government to this whole range for the use of the Government herd . . . If I allowed him to put his in it, it would give **him** an opportunity for unwarranted interference in the management of the herd and give him a standing as a partner of the herd, among the natives, that he is not entitled to. I do not think it advisable-to allow any outside deer in the herd, and think the interests of the Government and project will be best served if this is kept **soley** as a government herd.

72.. **Healy** to **Secty.,,** Treasury, 2 August 1893,, Revenue Marine Records, **RG 26,,** National Archives.

73.. **MaryHealy** to Jackson, 6 July 1893,, Jackson Papers.

74.. **Healy** to Jackson, 30 July 1893,, Jackson Papers.

75. Captain **Healy** frequently **was** required to transport **Eskimos** who had been stranded in West Coast ports by whaling captains. He transported several in **1893** from Port Townsend, and observed: "**I** see only suffering and pauperism for them **as was** the case of the **three** natives of **Attu** taken on the vessel this year from Port Townsend." **Healy** to **Secty.**, Treasury, 2 August **1893**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives,

76. **Lopp** to Jackson, 20 July **1893**; Jackson subsequently informed Commissioner Harris that the reason for their dismissal was the selling of firearms. Jackson to Harris, 20 July **1893**; Jackson Papers. It is apparent from his Journal that Jackson was more **indensed** by the fact that Gibson **had** been **cohabitating** with Eskimo women.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COURT MARTIAL

It is uncertain what Assistant Treasury Secretary **C.S. Hamlin's** reaction was when he first received the complaint of **the** junior officers of the North Pacific Squadron against Mike **Healy**. References to the document in the subsequent Court Martial proceedings are sketchy. It may have been officially regarded by him, in much the same light as it was by Captain **C. se Hooper. Hooper,** as senior officer **of** the Revenue Cutter Service on the West Coast could be expected to handle it. Personnel matters of this nature could not very appropriately be acted upon in Washington. The administrative apparatus was not yet in place. **Some** disciplinary action would seem to have been indicated, but it was unlikely at this point that a formal Court Martial would have been convened. However, the officers who brought the charges to **Hooper's** attention had committed themselves to a course of conduct from which it was not easy for them to disengage. There were also other parties involved. **Healy's** passengers, Dr. Benjamin Sharp and John **M.** Justice called at the Treasury Department shortly after they arrived on the East Coast. Their complaints regarding Mike **Healy's** conduct would also have to be considered.

Healy demonstrated his further lack of judgment in connection with incidents which transpired after the BEAR returned to San Francisco. The sympathetic efforts of Captain

Hooper, and even the indifference of Washington, proved insufficient to brush the incipient scandal under the rug. Nor, as would become apparent, were the aggrieved junior officers of the BEAR, Lieutenants White, Emery, and **Daniels** likely to be dissuaded from pursuing the course to which they had committed their professional careers. Their objective was to bring down Captain Michael A. **Healy**.

A strong motivating force, and stiffening influence came from the two civilian passengers, Sharp and Justice. Both had been on the receiving end of a number of **Healy's** outbursts during the cruise, and felt highly incensed over what they considered to have been the ungentlemanly treatment they received, as well as the perceived disregard of their status as guests of the Treasury Department. Both left the BEAR-at **Unalaska**, but Dr. Sharp who had maintained a notebook of the dates and details of the incidents he witnessed, met with the cutter's junior officers prior to his departure.. He assured them that he would contact the Treasury Department, and personally provide a detailed affidavit in support of their complaints. One of the specifications of the document submitted to **Hooper**, involved incidents of alleged misconduct towards the two civilian **scientists**.¹

Lieutenant George **Daniels** may have learned that no official action was being contemplated concerning their initial complaint. After the BEAR returned to San Francisco, **Daniels** proceeded to prefer formal charges against his

commanding officer. In accordance with service regulations, the charges were submitted through First Lieutenant **Buhner** to Captain' **Healy** for endorsement., and forwarding to the Department. **Healy**,, again drinking heavily, neglected to act on **Daniels**' charges. Instead of forwarding them to Washington, he precipitated a further incident with **Daniels** in his cabin. It. was alleged later, that the altercation had been staged by **Healy** for the purpose of provoking **Daniels** into striking him. **Daniels**,, however, had taken the precaution of having two officers present as witnesses. They would subsequently testify to the confrontation, and the outcome rebounded on **Healy** when, as a result of this incident, the Treasury Department was forced to institute formal disciplinary **proceedings.**²

After the the BEAR arrived in San Francisco, Lieutenant **Buhner** and Captain **Healy** absented themselves from the ship. Only a handful of the crew remained on board and Lieutenant Emery was left as senior officer. **Healy** returned aboard only for the purpose of confronting Lieutenant **Daniels** in his cabin. Lieutenant Emery, took advantage of the absence of his superior officers, to telegraph the Treasury Department on November **29**,, alleging that **Healy's** continued intoxication had resulting in further abusive mistreatment of his junior officers. The reply, received the following day, summarily relieved **Healy** from his command pending the convening of a Board of Inquiry to consider the charges against him. The telegram was signed by Assistant Secretary Charles

Hamlin³

The Assistant Secretary's action was highly irregular. Emery's telegram was sent without- the knowledge of either First Lieutenant **Burner** or Captain **Hooper**. Although Emery signed his telegram as "Acting Commander of the **BEAR**," **Hamlin's** reaction, based entirely upon a report from a junior officer was itself a violation of service procedures. It may however have been an accurate reflection of the frustration felt by senior officials in the Treasury Department. The controversy over **Healy's** misconduct simply would not go away, and it appeared that something finally had to be done. At the same time, the decision was made to take the matter out of the hands of Captain **Hooper**.

Mary **Healy's** reaction to her husband's suspension from **duty**, and the likelihood that he would face formal Court Martial proceedings is uncertain. Few of her letters remain, and there are none during this period. It is evident, however, that although her husband's drinking problem had been a continuous emotional burden, she remained steadfastly loyal to him during the prolonged proceedings that followed. Like her husband, Mary **Healy** persistently clung to the unrealistic belief that his official denigration was motivated by **individuals'who** were jealous of the recognition he had received for his service in the Arctic.

It would certainly be possible to read into the incidents of the court martial proceedings, some indication of

the exasperation Assistant Secretary Charles Sumner **Hamlin** felt towards what he perceived to be Mike **Healy's** stubborn unwillingness to come to **grips** with his own problem. To **Hamlin**, it must have seemed that **Healy** was unable to recognize the extent to which his drinking was effecting the performance of his duties, and the larger interests of the service. It would result in **Hamlin's** acting injudiciously in the course of the Court Martial proceedings, but even this is hardly evidence of the highly placed conspiracy **Healy** would allege was taking place. His best friend in the service, Captain **C.L. Hooper**, and his own brother, Bishop James **Healy**, both counselled **Healy** not to contest the charges.⁴ This Mike **Healy** refused to do.

During the trial that followed, there were numerous incidents **Healy's** adherents would point to, as evidence of the personal enmity of Assistant Secretary **Hamlin**. **Healy** felt that his personal differences with **Hamlin** and Sumner **Kimbell** had unfairly prevented his receiving the appointment to the Life Saving post left vacant by the death of Captain White, in 1891. **Hamlin**, an attorney, must also have been aware of the impropriety of his own actions, and their subsequent effect in prejudicing the trial proceedings. It should be noted however, that a Courts Martial was a relatively infrequent official proceeding at the time, and not governed by the same due process safeguards which exist today. **Hamlin's** interference, while improper, would not have invalidated the final result,

which many persons including **Healy's** closest friends, felt was inevitable.

It was impossible to conceal the fact that an individual as well known in the Bay Area as Captain Mike **Healy** of the Revenue Cutter Service, was being subjected to an official enquiry concerning his conduct. Not that it was an entirely new experience to the BEAR's controversial commander, **Healy's** fondness for the bottle was common knowledge. It was an issue in the 1890 proceedings, although ignored by the Board in their final report, and it surfaced again in connection with the murder of Harrison Thornton, two years earlier. Now it would be the lynch pin in the charges against **Healy**. The most serious aspect of the allegation was that **Healy's** drunkenness hazarded the safety of his command, and prevented its accomplishing the mission of ~~delivering~~ the supplies to the Point Barrow Refuge Station.

The first report that **Healy's** officers were accusing him of intoxication while in command of the BEAR, appeared in the San Francisco Call late in November, even before the altercation with **Lieutenant Daniels**.⁵ In the same issue a long news article also reported that Lieutenant Chester White, one of **Healy's** principal accusers, had submitted his resignation from the service and deserted his wife. **Healy's** suspension from command of the BEAR, was reported a few days later, and widely circulated in the national press.⁶ Mike **Healy** felt the publicity about the charges ~~against~~ him, had

originated in Washington, and was intended to embarrass him personally? Captain Charles **F.** Shoemaker, **Shepard's** successor as Commandant, when asked to comment, denied that any report had been released either by his office or the Treasury Department. "**I** do not know how the matter has leaked **out,**" Shoemaker said, "**but** as The Call has already reported the story, I will only say that the charges will be investigated. We are expecting Captain **Healy** to send in his defense; until this is in, we will have nothing to ~~say.~~"⁸

The long drawn out, and highly publicized trial, proved thoroughly distasteful to everyone involved, and a major embarrassment for the Revenue Cutter Service. It resulted in the enlisted men of the BEAR taking a position in support of their commander, and aligning themselves against the other officers. Counter charges were filed by enlisted crewmen against Lieutenant George **Daniels** and Asst. Engineer **J. E. Dory**; two of the principal witnesses against **Healy**. Other senior commanders were drawn in when it was alleged they had been accused of similar misconduct, and white-washed.' It was also rumored that the Board constituted to investigate the charges against Mike **Healy**, was clothed with broad authority from the Secretary to enquire into every aspect of service operations on the West Coast and put an end to the wide ranging individuality of the Pacific Coast commanders.

Healy, although the most obvious and vulnerable target, was considered by a generally sympathetic press, to be a

scapegoat for a deep schism within the service. It was widely reported in the press that there was a long standing conflict between the East and West Coast **branches** of the Revenue Cutter Service, and that the underlying rivalries had surfaced in the competition for the selection of a successor to Captain **Shepard** as Chief of the Service. The San Francisco Chronicle hinted as much in a report from its Washington correspondent, following Shoemaker's appointment to the post:

It has been said by those in a position to know that there is at present, or was a short time ago, a certain clique of officers stationed on the Pacific Coast who were trying to run things in a high handed manner. It is said that this clique has been the cause of considerable trouble to the department, and that before many months, the members of the band will be scattered as far apart as can be done, and that hereafter the Revenue Cutter Service on the Coast will be controlled by proper officials, and not by certain officers who have been in the service so long that they have gained the idea that they own it, and can do as they please. 110

The Treasury Department had little choice other than to initiate formal charges against **Healy** when he remained obdurate to any compromise. It is equally certain that the substance of the charges would be supported by substantial evidence. Still there are a number of factors, difficult to assess, and perhaps not even consciously recognized, which may have influenced the decision. A better course, that would have avoided all the **rancour** that followed, would have been to **transfer** him to another post, preferably close to Washington, where he could have been more closely supervised. In **1892** he

expressed his interest in the appointment as Inspector of the Life-Saving Service on the West Coast, a sinecure which was traditionally available to-senior officers of ~~the~~ **service**.¹¹ This options was foreclosed by **Healy's** intransigence, and Sumner **Kimbell's** opposition. **Healy** made it clear that he would oppose any attempt to transfer him to ~~the~~ East. The uncompromising-attitude evidenced by the principal prosecuting witnesses, also made such a course of action difficult, if not impractical. The notoriety the accusations had already received, made the parties on both sides feel that there was no other alternative but to continue with a formal proceedings.

Late in November, **Healy** engaged a prominent San Francisco attorney, Bradley Henley, to represent him. Henley moved quickly to have the charges dismissed. Writing to Secretary **J.G.** Carlisle, on November 30,, Henley suggested that in view of the fact the charges had emanated principally with Lieutenant **C. M.** White and, "within the past few days it has been publicly announced that Lieutenant White has resigned from the Service, "(and incidentally deserted his wife in the process) that it would seem to indicate that there is an abandonment of the accusation, the existence of which he is mainly responsible ~~for.~~" Henley was well aware that other officers were involved, but was seeking a rationale for Secretary Carlisle to terminate further official action. Henley directed attention to **Healy's** prominence ~~in~~ West Coast

maritime circles, an obvious attempt to dissuade the Secretary by the adverse publicity which would inevitably follow a formal proceedings. "[H]is name is, in connection with arctic waters on this coast, as familiar in our mouths as household words. I do not exaggerate when I say' that no man is more strongly entrenched in public esteem and confidence." Henley's effort proved futile.¹²

Healy responded, on November 15,, to the charges submitted to Captain Hooper at Sitka.. These would be substantially revised by Lieutenant William EL Reynolds, following his appointment as prosecutor. Only one charge, the seventh, would appear on the final indictment. It was the incident which took place on board HMS PHEASANT, involving Chief Engineer A.L. Broadbent.¹³ Healy was aware that the allegation of his misconduct about the British cruiser would be a particular embarrassment to the service, and would be likely to prejudice him in the eyes of his own peers. Hoping to defuse this issue, and anticipating the sympathetic response of the British officer, Healy took the precaution of writing to the PHEASANT's commander. Captain Garforth's reply was appended to Healy's answer to the charges. "I can assure you, " Garforth stated, "that as far as I and my officers are concerned, you did not give any cause whatever for offense."¹⁴ At the same time Garforth, without Healy's knowledge, also wrote directly to Secretary Carlisle, informing him that he had been asked by Captain Healy to

communicate the facts to the Department. "Captain **Healy** who I fancy was hardly sober when he came aboard, after a time went to sleep in an armchair, **and** when some of us tried to wake him up, he had an idea, he was on board his own ship, as he ordered one of the officers of the U.S. Revenue Service belonging to another ship to go out of his **cabin..**" **Garforth's** letter to the Secretary-had the end result of stiffening the Department's resolve to proceed with the **inquiry.**¹⁵

Fred **Healy**,, wrote on his father's behalf to Bishop James, asking for his good offices and intercession in Washington. The Bishop's reply, indicated the Treasury Department was determined to go forward with the court martial, and there appeared little hope they could be influenced by outside pressure. Bishop **Healy** was not optimistic. "**The** cloud is very **dark,**" he wrote to Fred, "**and** more threatening than I thought. Before I can move I must **be** made sure of your fathers intentions. From present indications, I think his only plan is to be placed on the retired list, and as to the trial, to plead 'Nolo **Contendere.**"¹⁶

The San Francisco newspapers devoted considerable space to the **Healy** trial, and its preliminaries. **Healy** opted at the beginning for a closed trial, and witnesses were sworn to maintain the secrecy of the proceedings. But from the outset, the day to day transactions were prominently featured in the San Francisco Chronicle and San Francisco Call. The sessions

were even characterized by the Chronicle as a Star Chamber Proceeding. The testimony of Lieutenant **Daniels**, and other prosecuting witnesses, was consistently recounted by the press in a hostile and deprecating manner. There were repeated assertions of personal enmity in high places, and prejudicial influence. The newspaper allegations pointed unerringly to Assistant Secretary **C.S. Hamlin**, and at one point, Bradley Henley felt compelled to write **Hamlin**, to assure him that the hostility reflected in the press accounts of the trial, did not originate with his **client**.¹⁷ There is no question that the San Francisco newspapers were firmly in the **Healy** camp. It is almost inconceivable, in spite of Henley's disavowal, that the source of their information, did not lie within the **Healy** faction, if not in fact with Captain **Healy**, himself. The final result was counterproductive. It only strengthened **Hamlin's** resolve, and ultimately had its effect upon the severity of the punishment **imposed**.¹⁸

Long before the trial began, it must have been obvious to **Healy** that he was in very deep water indeed. Even the rationalization which characterizes the mental processes of the alcoholic, could not make him oblivious to the fact that his drinking was no secret. There would be a myriad of witnesses who could testify to his frequent intoxication at sea. Yet, in spite of this, and contrary to the advice of his friend Captain **Hooper**, and his brother, **Healy** decided to fight. He had no difficulty in finding witnesses who were

prepared to perjure themselves on his behalf. The subsequent testimony of more than a dozen crewmen from the BEAR, of the surgeon Dr. Bodkin, and of long time friends among the masters of the whaling fleet, testifying that they had never seen or known of Mike **Healy** to appear intoxicated, was too much even for the San Francisco newspapers to recount with more than tongue in cheek credulity. As one member of the court commented after the trial, "There was so much perjury on both sides, that much of the testimony had to be disregarded in its entirety."¹⁹

Several of the initial newspapers stories speculated as to possible penalties. When the date of the trial was postponed in January, Treasury Officials in Washington were reported to be expressing their opinion openly that it was likely the Captain would be found guilty. The only unresolved question was the penalty that would be imposed. The charges were so specific and the testimony was expected to cover such an extensive period, "that it will be well nigh impossible for the Board of Inquiry to make other findings."²⁰ That **Healy** denied the charges, and that this was the second or third time similar allegations had been made, was thought to militate heavily against him. His record however, well known to the public, was expected to be a factor in lessening the severity of any punishment. One unidentified Treasury official commented:

Captain **Healy** is one of the ablest seamen in the Navy.

In fact, he has no superior in that respect. He is also a man of splendid intellect, and has spent a great deal of time in studying every question peculiar to the revenue cutter service. His one failing is drink, and that alone has been the cause of all his troubles, both past and **present.**"²¹

The maximum punishment, if he was found guilty of all charges, was dismissal from the service. Of the lesser penalties that could be imposed, he could lose his seniority and be suspended from duty, for up to five years. Before the trial had even begun, a Washington source was credited by the San Francisco Chronicle with making the observation: "One thing certain is that while Captain **Healy** will be treated ~~as~~ generously as possible, at the same time the good of the service demands that he be punished for his offense."²²

As the date for the trial approached, there was widespread speculation that efforts were being made to influence the Treasury Department concerning possible penalties. Later, in the course of the proceedings it would be reported that the California Congressional Delegation had interceded with President Cleveland who, it was assumed, would have final review authority over any sentence. Representatives of the shipping industry, and in particular the whaling interests of both San Francisco and New Bedford., were reported to have written the President on ~~Healy's~~ **behalf.**²³ A guilty thus verdict seemed almost to be a foregone conclusion, even before the testimony was heard.

The trial was also lining up officers on both sides of

the issue. Captain **C. L Hooper** was openly credited with being in **Healy's** camp, along with many of the old school cutter commanders. Opposed to these interests were a majority of the junior grade officers. The fact that twenty five of these had affixed their signatures to the initial complaint, showed the firmness of their convictions, and that' they were **prepared, to** stand together **ag* nst** the "old guard.."

The trial ~~was~~ originally scheduled to convene on board the cutter RUSH. In preparation, the vessel was moved to the Main Street Wharf. The original trial date was postponed, due to the late arrival of the officers designated by Secretary Carlisle to compose the Board. Captain **D. B. Hodgedon,** commander of the cutter **FESSENDEN,** at Detroit was designated chairman. The other two members were Louis **N. Stoddard,** Captain of the Port of New York, and Captain **W. C. Coulson,** an old friend of **Healy's** who had managed to edge him out from the appointment as Inspector of Life Saving Stations on the Pacific Coast. First Lieutenant **H. H. Rogers,** of the Bay Area cutter HARTWELL, was designated recorder, and First Lieutenant William **E. Reynolds** of the GRANT, prosecuting officer. Reynolds had sailed under the command of both **Hooper** and **Healy.** Serving on the. **CORWIN** in **1881,** he was a member of the ~~search~~ party landed in Siberia,- and raised the American flag over ~~rangell~~ Land, later that year. In **1922** he would become **Commzhdant** of the *Coast Guard, and the officer of the service to attain the rank of **Admiral.**²⁴

Captain **Hodgedon** ordered the proceedings moved to Room **83** of the Appraiser's Building in downtown San Francisco, shortly after his arrival. The -preliminaries began on January **18** with the introduction of the documentary exhibits. More than thirty officers of the Revenue Cutter Service, together with a host of Customs officials and other witnesses or observers, thronged the 'corridors outside the hearing room. Promptly at **1:00** p.m. on January **23**, the trial began. Captain **Healy**, seated at a long table in the front of the room, was observed to exhibit signs of nervousness, as the members of the Board filed in, and **took** their places.

When everyone was seated, Captain **Hodgedon** spoke briefly to announce that the hearings would be confidential, and that the participants would be enjoined to secrecy on all matters that transpired in the course of the trial. All the witnesses and observers other than Captain **Healy**, Lieutenants Howard Emery, **G. M. Daniels**, and First Assistant Engineer **L. B. Jones**, the principal prosecution witnesses, were excluded from the hearing room. The hearing was opened by Lieutenant Reynolds reading of the charging document. In its revised form, it consisted of six separate charges alleging that the commanding officer of the BEAR had conducted himself in an unbecoming mariner in uniform, and while representing the service, and that on specified occasions he had been intoxicated while ~~on~~ duty in **command** of his vessel; hazarding its **safety** and the accomplishment of its **mission.**²⁵

Captain **Healy** was then asked to enter his plea, and Bradford Henley replied that his client would plead "Not guilty" to all counts. The trial opened with a statement by Lieutenant Reynolds, following which the first witnesses were ~~called~~ and sworn. During the afternoon session Lieutenants Jones and **Daniels** were examined. Jones described what ~~had~~ transpired on **HMS PHEASANT** in **Unalaska** harbor. He testified to Captain **Healy's** intoxication, the altercation with Chief Engineer Broadbent, and **Healy's** subsequent fall from the dock. On cross examination Jones admitted that he had made numerous critical and disparaging comments concerning his commanding officer, not only to other officers of the BEAR, but also within the hearing of enlisted members of the crew. Jones denied that there was any intent to conspire against **Healy**, but did admit that he and other officers had formed a common interest early in the cruise, and agreed to observe incidents that might form a **basis** on which to initiate some form of official action against their captain.

Lieutenant **Daniels**, the next witness, testified to the same incidents, but refused to answer questions concerning remarks he had made about Captain **Healy**, or admit that he and the other officers had conspired among themselves to file the charges against their commanding officer, or that his testimony was motivated by any personal malice against **Healy**. Lieutenant Worth **Ross** was the next witness, and went over much of **the** same ground that already been covered. Engineer

Broadbent took the stand briefly, but was allowed to step down when he testified that he had, "no recollection whatever, of the incident." A total of fifty ~~nine~~ witnesses would be sworn and examined in the course of the trial. Nine officers testified to the incident on **HMS PHEASANT**, which played a significant part in the prosecution's case. Lieutenant Albert **Buhner** and Captain **Hooper** tried their best to limit their testimony, so as to avoid providing evidence that was harmful to **Healy**. However, they were compelled to testify truthfully, and the vigorous examination conducted by Lieutenant Reynolds brought out much adverse information which undoubtedly weighed more heavily with the Board, than that of officers who were admittedly antagonistic to their commander.

Captain **C. L. Hooper** was called to testify at several different points during the proceedings. Along with Captain **D. F. Tozier** of the **GRANT**, who was also present, both gave it as their opinion that **Healy** had been intoxicated when he first came aboard **HMS PHEASANT**. When **Hooper** was asked concerning **Healy's** reputation for sobriety, ~~he~~ temporized: "That I hardly know, some claim he drinks a good deal, and others claim that he does not. I do not know exactly what would constitute a reputation. In the matter of his reputation as a sailor, that is universal.? **Tozier** was less circumspect and stated bluntly that **Healy's** general reputation in the service was that, "of one who was addicted to the use of alcohol!"²⁷

At a later stage, **Hooper** was asked to give his opinion

of **Healy** as a commanding officer. "[He] was always considered a strict if not severe commanding officer." In answer to a question concerning **Healy's** reputation for his treatment of his officers, **Hooper** replied: "I think always good until this year. I do not know that it is a reputation this year, but I hear complaints."²⁸ Lieutenant Reynolds, the prosecutor, pressed **Hooper** for a more direct answer: "Is an officer who uses insulting or abusive language to subordinates, or resorts to undignified or nagging methods in his course of duty towards his subordinates, an efficient officer?" "He might be efficient in many respects," **Hooper** answered, "and yet in other respects, in that particular, not be." Captain **Tozier's** answer again, was more direct: "He is a pretty hard man to sail with." A member of the Board asked **Tozier** for a clarification: "Are you just saying he is a strict disciplinarian or does he treat his officers unjustly?" **Tozier** replied: "I might possibly answer that question both ways: he is strict, and perhaps annoying. I cannot explain myself any better than that. He is a hard man to sail with. They dread to go near him . . . I have heard a great many complaints of his abusive treatment of officers, and that he would frequently send them to the crow's nest to punish them."²⁹ In other testimony, **Tozier** admitted that when **Healy** was on duty in the Arctic, "I was frequently necessarily that he be continuously on deck for periods of 72 hours or more at a time, and observed: "He works his officers hard, but works hard

himself." First Lieutenant **F. G. Wadsworth**, one of the officers who refused to sign the initial charges against **Healy**, testified that **Healy** had a naturally brusque and rough way of speaking to his officers, "and he has often times, in my opinion been unjust." ³⁰

At another point, Reynolds asked Captain **Hooper** to give his opinion of **Healy's** qualifications as an officer - of his diligence, good judgment, courage and sobriety. "**Healy**," **Hooper** replied, "did not lack in any of them, except possibly in sobriety . . . Captain **Healy** has occasionally taken a drink - perhaps too much - in days past, ever since I have known him, and at times which he ought not to have done it. Otherwise he is an exceptionally good officer, an able, intelligent, bright, skillful officer." ³¹ In answer to the question whether he had not in fact urged Captain **Healy** to plead guilty to the charges, rather than cause further scandal to the Service. "As I have stated before, and it is no secret," said **Hooper**, "my advice to him was to acknowledge the fact that he was under the influence during those three days in **Unalaska**." ³² Reynolds was later to characterize **Hooper's** testimony, "as strongly suggesting that there was an agreement between [**Hooper**] and **Healy** before the investigation began."

Several officers although called by the prosecution, provided testimony that was favorable to **Healy**. Captain Horatio D. Smith, commander of the PERRY observed that the

defendant was considered, "one of the ~~better~~ navigators in the service and the most competent commander in the Bering Sea patrol." Smith said he had-known **Healy** to take an occasional drink, but only socially, and never to excess. During an acquaintance extending over a score of years, Smith said he had never known the BEAR's commander to be drunk on duty. Most of the cutter's warrant; and petty officers testified ~~on~~ their commander's behalf. To a man, they informed the Trial Board they had never observed **Healy** in an intoxicated condition. Lieutenant Reynolds in his summary, would suggest that the testimony of the enlisted witnesses be discounted. "The testimony of these men is avowedly and unmistakably hostile towards the officers who have complained of Captain **Healy's** conduct." Surgeon Thomas Bodkin when called as a witness, told the Board the only liquor **Healy** had access to during the 1895 cruise, was medicinally provided brandy mixed with quinine which he prescribed for a severe cold. ~~33~~ with so much obvious perjury, the Board may have decided to discount much of the testimony, on both sides.

Lieutenant Albert **Buhner** was another reluctant witness, but gave a straight forward account of the incidents that occurred during their approach to the **Shumagin** Islands in June. He admitted ~~considering~~ a change of course on his own authority, and that Captain **Healy**, "had been drinking during this time." **Buhner** also conceded he had confiscated the alcohol in the Captain's Cabin, "for his own good." **Buhner**

refused, however, in spite of the persistent efforts of the prosecuting officer, to say that he considered his commander to be drunk or so intoxicated as not to understand what he was doing. When questioned by Reynolds, concerning **Healy's** treatment of his officers, **Buhner** replied: "The Captain is strict, but he is just . . . in any ship there is a lot of wardroom carping and complaining. I have just learned to ignore **it**." The same day **Buhner** completed his testimony, Lieutenant Reynolds, wired the Treasury Department asking that the **BEAR's** First Lieutenant be ordered by them to give a truthful account concerning' his knowledge of Captain **Healy's** intoxication. The next day, Assistant Secretary **Hamlin**, telegraphed **Buhner**: " Give your testimony without reservation or concealment.*'

On February 7, **Buhner** appeared before the Board, and indignantly demanded an explanation of the telegram from **Hamlin**. "**This** is an **insult**," he said, "**it** touches upon my integrity. I demand to know of this honorable body, if it has been in correspondence with the Treasury Department concerning my testimony." ³⁴ Lieutenant Reynolds admitted that he had wired Washington after becoming convinced that **Buhner** was not testifying in a straight forward manner concerning the incidents he had witnessed. The newspaper accounts of ~~the~~ confrontation reported it as one more indication of the hostile attitude Assistant Secretary **Hamlin** manifested from the very outset, towards Captain ~~Healy~~. ¹ [**Hamlin**] will

probably pass finally upon Captain **Healy's** case, [and] the chances **for** the Captain's reinstatement in the service are considered **to** be Very **poor**.³⁵ A week earlier, the announcement was made that Captain Francis Tuttle had been named to command the BEAR, Tuttle's appointment was considered further evidence of the Department's **pre-judgment** of the outcome of the **trial**.³⁶

The day before Lieutenant **Buhner's** angry **complaint** with the Board, Reynolds announced that the **prosecution** had completed the presentation of its evidence, and that no further witnesses would be called. Bradley Henley was to begin the defense presentation the morning **Buhner** revealed the telegram from Secretary **Hamlin**. After the exchange with **Buhner**, Reynolds informed the Board that he intended to reopen the prosecution case and would require a two week continuance to allow the Philadelphia scientist, Dr. Benjamin Sharp, to appear. Unknown to **Healy** or his attorney, Sharp and his associate, called on **Hamlin** in November, and provided the Assistant Secretary with written affidavits of the events that transpired during the period they were passengers on the **BEAR**. The affidavits were forwarded to Lieutenant Reynolds, and the prosecutor had decided to present Sharp's testimony. At the same time, Reynolds submitted a telegram from Secretary **Hamlin** indicating that Sharp would leave for the West Coast on February 6, and was already **enroute**. The Board could **only** construe **Hamlin's** message as an indication **from** their

superior, that Sharp's testimony should be considered.

Bradley Henley did not know at the time, and it is not certain that he ever discovered; that Secretary **Hamlin** had instructed Captain **Hodgedon** to grant the continuance before the prosecution motion was raised. **Healy's** attorney voiced a strenuous objection when the delay was granted, and asked that at the very least, he be permitted to examine the affidavits of Sharp and Justice. Captain **Hodgedon** denied access to the affidavits; To do otherwise probably would have proved embarrassing to the President of the Board. The affidavits were in fact, in **Hodgedon's** possession at the time, having been given to him that morning by Reynolds, Henley's objection did have the effect of provoking a revealing comment from one member of the Board: "**From** the instructions [convening the Board] we are to allow all possible latitude to the prosecutor, but I know of no latitude that we are to allow to the **defense.**"³⁷

Secretary **Hamlin's** Diary is a valuable source of information concerning the background of Dr. Sharp's testimony, and **Hamlin's** own feelings towards the **Healy trial**. **Hamlin** was becoming increasingly irritated by the articles appearing in the San Francisco newspapers that accused him of influencing the trial board against **Healy**. "**They** are too silly to dignify with a **denial.**" But **Hamlin** did admit, even if only to himself, the impropriety of having instructed Captain **Hodgedon** to grant the continuance until Sharp could reach San

Francisco. "**Sharpe** had complained bitterly of **Healy's** ill treatment and charged that he was drunk for the greater part of the voyage.** It was **Hamlin's** decision to send the Philadelphia scientist to San Francisco, and he authorized the payment of his expenses by the Treasury Department.

Hamlin's diary also reveals that Captain Shoemaker came to him with a letter received from an unidentified member of the Trial Board, stating that Captain **Hooper** had testified that he knew nothing about **Healy's** drinking. The writer reminded Shoemaker that he had been told that, "**Hooper** would tell him all about **Healy's** drinking." Shoemaker wanted **Hamlin's** opinion as to whether he should write **Hooper** to remind him of his letters to Washington, in which he stated that **Healy** had frequently been intoxicated while on duty, and that he [**Hooper**] had even hesitated to provide him with a copy of the charges, **because** he was ~~then~~ too drunk to receive them. **Hamlin** directed the ~~Lieutenant-Commandant~~ instead to send copies of **Hooper's** letters to Lieutenant Reynolds so that he could frame cross examination questions, but not to write directly to **Hooper**. The Assistant Secretary learned later that Shoemaker had written to **Hooper**, contrary to his instructions.

Lieutenant Reynolds also complained to **Hamlin** concerning Chief **Engineer A.L.** Broadbent and another officer who had been ~~uncooperative~~ with the prosecution. On **Reynold's** insistence, **Hamlin** telegraphed Broadbent, "to state to Reynolds and the Board all they knew about the matter fully

and unreservedly.*' Broadbent, however, continued to disregard **Hamlin's** orders, and refused to testify. The other officer referred to in **Hamlin's** diary, and the Board member who had written to Captain Shoemaker concerning **Hooper's** testimony are not identified. It is not unlikely that the latter may have been Captain **Hodgeson**. The President of the Board visited Washington to be briefed by the department, prior to departing for the West Coast, and undoubtedly at that time received instructions from **Hamlin** concerning the trial.³⁸

The proceedings reconvened February **29** with Dr. Sharp present. The Philadelphia scientist testified that entire day, relating the incidents of the cruise, and the frequent occasions on which he had observed Captain **Healy** in an intoxicated condition. **Sharp** buttressed his testimony by representing himself as a trained scientific observer who had carefully recorded his observations in his notebook. He admitted under cross examination by Henley, that he had no love for Captain **Healy**, and had been forbidden by **Healy** to trade with the Eskimos for artifacts or specimens which he had hoped to acquire for the Philadelphia Museum. Dr. Sharp was forced, reluctantly, to admit that **Healy** had usually been courteous to him personally, and had taken the vessel more than a hundred miles out of its way on at least one occasion, to permit him to recover specimens of polar bear and walrus. When taking leave of the BEAR at **Unalaska**, **Sharpe** had also been presented with valuable Arctic artifacts from Captain

Healy's private collection.39

After Sharp's testimony, Lieutenant Reynolds announced the prosecution case was ended. **Healy's** attorney then began his defense. Crewmen from the BEAR, masters of Arctic whalers, and **H. N. Nice** of the Alaska Commercial Co., were called as witnesses. Nice was present at both the ball given on the occasion of the fleet's departure, and the day **Healy** fell into the waters of **Unalaska** bay. It was to Nice's home that Captain was taken after the incident. He testified **Healy** was not intoxicated on either occasion. Surgeon Bodkin repeated earlier testimony concerning his treatment of **Healy** for a severe cold by prescribing whiskey and quinine. Bodkin also attended him at Nice's home for contusions and bruises suffered in the fall from the dock. At this point it was revealed that the ship's surgeon had filed charges of his own, against Lieutenant **Daniels** and Engineer Dory, and recommended **Daniels** be examined for his mental competency at the Marine Hospital.40

Captain **Hooper** was recalled to recount his opinion of **Healy's** qualifications as an Arctic navigator. During cross examination by Lieutenant Reynolds, **Hooper** was asked to restate again his earlier testimony concerning **Healy's** sobriety. Secretary **Hamlin's** Diary reveals, that **Hooper** by this time had received the communication from Captain Shoemaker, and Reynolds had also been provided with copies of **Hooper's** letters written from **Unalaska**. **Hooper's** testimony

could be impeached on the basis of these letters. Henley rose to object to the question. "**We** do not contest the issue of Captain **Healy's** having been intoxicated during that period, this is improper [questioning]." Reynolds replied: "**You** are conceding this issue then?" "**Yes,**" Henley answered, and **Hooper** was allowed to step down without answering.

Mike **Healy** then took the stand. Evidence of his intoxication at **Unalaska** was overwhelming, and had been conceded. The trial now focused on the issue of his intoxication at the time he was in command of the BEAR at sea. If he was to retain his command, it would be necessary to sufficiently challenge the allegations concerning his hazarding the cutter, and mistreating his officers. After first directing **Healy** to recount his career in the Revenue Marine, Bradley Henley, encouraged him to reply to the charges, from his own perspective as commander of the Arctic Cutter. "**I** play no favorites," **Healy** told the court, "**I** go up there to do my duty and to do right as far as I can, and I expect every officer to do the same. I seldom speak to an officer roughly, unless it is the third time I have to speak. I want to say, though, that when I am in charge of a vessel, I think I always command. I think that I am put there to command, and I do command, and I take all the **responsibiliy** and all the risks, all the hardships that my office would call upon me to take. I do not steer by any man's compass but my own, I do not phrase my words with an '~~if~~ you please.' I say

"set the mainsail! or whatever the order may be."41

It was now Reynolds turn to cross examine. He was almost gentle, asking no direct questions concerning Healy's personal weakness. It was as though an agreement had been made with Henley to avoid the issue and allow it to rest on the basis of the earlier, hopelessly contradictory, testimony. The prosecutor asked only one question. "Do you always treat your officers justly?" To this, Healy replied, "Yes". "Then why," asked Reynolds, "are there so many complaints of unjust treatment?" "I cannot account for it at all," said Healy, "I think that I have been too good to them."42

The prosecution customarily is allowed two opportunities in final argument. Lieutenant Reynolds initial summary of the evidence was brief. He was waiting first to hear the direction the defense argument would take. Henley's plea on Healy's behalf was a creditable forensic performance, but was unpersuasive. Henley glossed over the testimony that was adverse to his client, and sought to persuade the court that it should give greater weight to the testimony of the enlisted crewmen who swore they had never seen Healy drunk while in command of the BEAR. Many of these men, Henley observed, had sailed with Healy for ten or more years. The testimony against him, it was pointed out, had come from junior and relatively inexperienced officers who were personally antagonistic towards their commanding officer because he had subjected them to a rigorous discipline

necessitated by the dangerous conditions of Arctic navigation. Dr. Sharp's testimony Henley considered to be beneath contempt, because it had been -personally motivated, arising from presumed slights to his dignity. As a guest of the Treasury Department, his presence on board had been at the sufferance of Captain ~~Healy~~, Henley pointed ~~out~~, and considerable pains had been taken to ensure that his scientific objectives had been met. In recompense, Sharp had incited the officers against their commander, and assured them that he would intercede directly on their behalf, with high officials of the Treasury Department. Henley's final remarks directed the Board's attention to the professional qualifications and accomplishments of Captain ~~Healy~~ while in command of the Arctic Cutter. Henley was seeking to persuade the Board that no other officer would be capable of replacing him as captain of the BEAR.

Reynolds followed with his final argument for the prosecution. Exhaustively he reviewed the testimony of each witness, and suggested to the Board that the testimony of the enlisted men, Dr. Bodkin, and the whaling ~~masters~~, ^{men} should be discounted as having been based upon personal friendship or other motives. Their testimony was, "too much at odds with the facts, to ~~be~~ believable." On the other hand, Reynolds argued, "The officers who have testified have no motive to deceive, each may have jeopardized his own future career by coming forward as witnesses against their commanding officer. Even

Captain **Hooper** and Lieutenant **Buhner**, reluctant witnesses as they may be, have testified to the facts concerning Captain **Healy's** intoxication."

Each of the seven separate charges was addressed by Reynolds, in turn. For each, he reviewed the evidence adduced in its support. "Here is an officer, a commanding officer, who becomes so intoxicated on board a foreign war vessel that he has to be actually ~~carried~~ to his own ship by two junior officers, who, the next evening if we are to believe the evidence offered, is so overcome by intoxicating liquor at a public gathering, that his condition creates comment, and is mortifying to his brother officers. Who, the following day appears in a public place under the influence of liquor ~~and, by~~ reason of his condition falls overboard ~~from~~ a wharf. All of this occurs when the officer is in uniform, and in a place where he is well ~~known~~. Can anything be a greater scandal to the service? Are such activities by an officer so high in rank as Captain **Healy**, not calculated to bring disgrace and discredit upon the service and the government.".

The charge that **Healy** placed the BEAR in a perilous position near the **Shumagin** Islands while intoxicated, and endangered the vessel and the lives of the crew, was unquestionably one of the most serious allegations.

"Lieutenant **Buhner** says the procedures that evening ~~June~~ 6 near **Shumagin** Islands] were irregular, that is, ~~thaz~~ he had' never before acted on his own responsibility in such a case.

His answer is evasive . . . Only one **conclusibn** can be drawn, that Captain **Healy** was drinking that evening, and could not be consulted regarding the conduct of his ship, something scarcely to be done on a well regulated ship even by an executive officer, unless he had another and stronger reason for assuming the responsibility, than the desire not to awaken the captain."

"**It** is for the Board to decide, from the evidence adduced, whether or not the BEAR was in a dangerous position during the afternoon of the **6th** of **June..**" The prosecutor's summation contended that the evidence clearly showed that her position was unknown; she was close to land, and none of the officers had ever been in **Stepovik** Bay. "**Owing** to [**Healy's**] intoxicated condition that the management and control of his ship were practically taken out of his hands and assumed by Lieutenant **Buhner**, is amply shown by the evidence." Of **Healy's** tyrannous and abusive conduct towards his junior officers, Reynolds argued that it was shown overwhelmingly in the testimony: "**That** he was quarrelsome, nagging and of an arbitrary **disposition** while intoxicated. This is the testimony of all the prosecuting witnesses."

The failure **of the** cutter to **carry** out its mission to reach Point Barrow-was an important aspect of the prosecution case, and if this failure was found to be due to **Healy's** intoxication it would weigh heavily against him. "**It** is not charged that from the **11th** to **20th** August [while at Icy Cape],

he was continuously unable to perform his duties," Reynolds continued, "but that he was habitually [emphasis in original] unable to perform them. That the ship escaped all accident during this time may have been due to the skill of her officers. "I have never failed in my duty to the government in my **life**," is Captain **Healy's** answer to the question. There are other duties an officer owes to the government, and one of ~~the~~ most important of these, is that he shall at all times, and under all circumstances conduct himself so as not to bring scandal upon the service, nor disgrace the uniform he wears.'

Lieutenant Reynolds recognized that Mike **Healy's** reputation for successfully navigating the BEAR in the dangerous waters of the Arctic, and along the uncharted coasts of Alaska and Siberia without mishap, for more than a decade, weighed heavily with the court. It was one of the most difficult aspects of the prosecution case, and Henley had argued that no other officer was likely to be capable of replacing him in command of the Arctic Cutter. **Healy's** record of accomplishment made it difficult to believe the testimony that he was so intoxicated as to be unable to exercise effective command at sea. "**Quick** judgment should be possessed by those who follow the **sea**," Reynolds continued. "**A** brain clouded by alcohol cannot work rapidly, and is incapable of grasping a situation of peril." But **was Healy** to be given sole credit for the fact that he had been so successful as a commander? Could he not in fact have been so drunk as to be

unable to stand, and yet be fortunate that no accident occurred; Reynolds asked. "If Captain **Healy** has been under the influence of liquor, the fact-that no accident has happened does not make the offense the less culpable."

Reynolds admitted that all of the witnesses, even those the prosecution had called, testified to **Healy's** professional ability when he was completely in control of himself, and was sober. **That he** had successfully brought his vessel safely back repeatedly from the Arctic seas, "is a record of which all are proud." "But," asked Reynolds, "might not others have done as well." Were not **Healy's** officers, and especially his second in command during the 1895 voyage, Lieutenant **Buhner**, to be given equal credit, Reynolds suggested, especially in view of the fact that **Buhner** had assumed effective command of the vessel when his captain was so intoxicated, "as to fail to give the appropriate orders to assure her safety." "Have not his officers, " Reynolds asked the court, "contributed to his success?" It was important, Reynolds believed to remove any doubt that other commanders could be found who were equally capable of replacing **Healy** in command of the Arctic Cutter. "The opinion of some of the witnesses for the defense, that they do not think he can be replaced. . . I am not prepared to accept it." 43

Reynolds closing argument was devastating to **Healy** and his adherents. It was one of the few stages in the trial that was not reported in detail by the San Francisco newspapers.

While the Board was considering its verdict, **Healy's** attorney wrote to Assistant Secretary **Hamlin** indicating that he felt obliged to point out the incidents that had arisen in the course of the trial which reflected **Hamlin's** prejudice towards his client. The Assistant Secretary's action in suspending Captain **Healy** from his command, on the basis of a telegram sent by a junior officer without the knowledge of his superiors, was itself a violation of departmental procedure, "and must have impressed the belief in the minds of the members of the Board that Captain had fallen into great disfavor" Henley called attention to the testimony of Lieutenant **Buhner** which had been delivered in a, "straightforward manner," and had elicited a telegram from **Hamlin** ordering that he testify, "without reserve or concealment.*" This had not only provoked **Buhner's** anger at the intimation that he was perverting his testimony, but since **Hamlin's** order had been initiated at the instigation of the prosecutor, "it reflected additional grounds for the belief that the Treasury Department was inimical to Captain **Healy**..". The most objectionable factor in **Hamlin's** unwarranted interference with the conduct of the trial, had been the two week adjournment to allow Dr. Sharp to testify. **His transportation** had even been provided at government **expense**, as Henley observed, "[F]urnishing still further reason that it was the desire of the department to go to extreme lengths to get testimony against Captain **Healy**..". His objection to the

continuance, he pointed out to **Hamlin**, had also evoked the revealing comment that the Trial Board had been instructed to: "**Allow** no latitude to the **defense**..'" It was apparent from the beginning of the trial, Henley told Secretary **Hamlin**, that the officers constituting the Board were, "largely influenced by what they evidently believed to be the wish of the department as evidenced by your acts, to be extremely severe towards Captain **Healy**.."**Healy's** attorney concluded his letter with the observation that he was convinced the Secretary's interference had, "severely prejudiced the minds of the [trial court]"⁴⁴

While **Healy's** attorney was aware of Captain Shoemaker's letter to **Hooper**, he was evidently not aware that Captain Shoemaker had also written to a member of the Board concerning **Hooper's** testimony, and that it was on the basis of an order from **Hamlin** that the proceedings had been recessed to permit Sharp's appearance. Nor was Henley evidently aware that, affidavits of the witness were already circulating among the Board members. If he had known this, Henley's letter to **Hamlin** would probably have been even stronger in its accusations that the Assistant Secretary had prejudicially interfered in the proceedings.

On March 5, 1896 the Board announced its verdict. Captain **Healy** had been found guilty of all seven charges in the trial specification.

- **Conduct** to the prejudice of good order and discipline.

- Conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentlemen.
- Tyrannous and abusive conduct to inferiors.
- Conduct detrimental to discipline.
- Placing a vessel in a perilous position while in an intoxicated condition thereby endangering the lives and property under his command.
- Insulting and abusive treatment of officers.
- Drunkenness to the scandal of the Service.

The Board concluded its findings with the recommendation: "That the accused officer, Captain Michael A. **Healy**, United States Revenue Cutter Service, be dismissed the Service."⁴⁵

Final action now rested with Treasury Secretary J.G. Carlisle. On March 25, 1896, a news story appeared in the San Francisco Call indicating that sources in Washington confirmed that Assistant Secretary **Hamlin** had recommended that the Board's findings be accepted, and **Healy dismissed**.⁴⁶

Hamlin's Journal provides further insight into the events which transpired in Washington after the Trial Board rendered its verdict. "Strenuous efforts were made by his friends to have [me] overthrow the findings . . . Congressmen, Senators, and hundreds of others, among whom was Bishop **Healy** of Portland, Maine, a brother of Captain **Healy**, all joined in begging such a reversal."

California Senators Perkins and ~~Wright~~ **Wright** also called on **Hamlin** and, "demanded a reversal/ **Hamlin's** diary relates that

Senator Perkins was particularly adamant in claiming that the evidence did not warrant the verdict, or the recommendation for dismissal. The detailed account indicates his reply to Perkins: "Were you not once a sailor," **Hamlin** asked. To which Perkins answered, "**I** once **shipped** before the **mast**," **Hamlin** then suggested that Perkins take the transcript of the testimony of the trial, and read it from the point of view of a sailor. "**If** after reading it, you come back and say that on your honor as a sailor, the verdict is not warranted by the evidence, I will take up the matter again, giving the very greatest weight to your judgment." In a few days, according to **Hamlin**, Perkins returned with the transcript, and said: "**I** have done you a great injustice. I have carefully read this record as a sailor, and I have only to say that the verdict is amply warranted by the **evidence**." ¹⁴⁷

On June 8, 1896 a printed order was distributed to all stations and vessels of the Revenue Cutter Service. Signed by Secretary Carlisle, it announced the sentence to be imposed on Captain Michael A. **Healy**:

That Captain Michael A. **Healy** be dropped to the foot of the list of Captains of the Revenue Service, and that he retain that place hereafter; that **he** be suspended from rank and command and kept on waiting orders for a term of four years, and that he be publicly reprimanded by reading this order on board all vessels of the Revenue Cutter Service, by the commanding officer of each; at a muster of the commissioned officers, and admonished that if again found guilty of the excessive use of **intoxicants** during the term of his sentence or hereafter, whether afloat or on shore, he will be summarily dismissed the **service**. ⁴⁸

Notes

1. There was a relatively new regulation of the Treasury Department which prohibited Officers, but not enlisted men, from trading with the natives. **Healy** applied the policy to official passengers. [Although apparently not to Dr. Jackson in procuring items for his Museum at Sitka.] The **Bear** carried a large supply of reindeer trade goods on each of its voyages, and on more than one occasion, Dr. **Sharp** was found in the hold of the ship examining the trade items. Evidently dissatisfied with **Healy's** stricture on trading, he accused **Healy** of violating the policy in his own interests. This was one of the occasions for an angry confrontation between **Skezz** and **Healy**. Another occurred when one of **Healy's** officers, whether it was **Daniels**, Emery or White, is unclear, reported to **Healy** that **Sharp** had referred to him in the Wardroom as a: "God damned Irishman." **Healy** was always extremely sensitive about his Irish-Catholic-Negro extraction and this remark may have further embittered his relations with his passengers. The remark, it seems, may have been reported to **Healy** in an effort to provoke him. There was yet another angry confrontation with **Sharp**. At Unalaska where **Sharp** and Justice were to disembark, **Sharp** asked **Healy** to use his influence to secure a free passage for them on board one of the whalers, and **Healy** refused. All of these incidents served to embitter the two men against **Healy**, Dr. **Sharp**, in particular.

2. The day after Thanksgiving when **Lieut. Buhner** returnee to the **Bear**, **Daniels** asked if the charges he had filed against Captain **Healy** were forwarded to Washington. **Buhner** recognized that **Healy** had acted improperly in sitting on them, went to Captain **Healy's** home, obtained the documents, and mailed them. Captain **Healy** was absent from the vessel for several days during this period. When he came back aboard on November 29, **Daniels** was temporarily ashore. **Healy** left orders to have him report to his cabin when he returned. **Daniels**, evidently expecting a confrontation, asked **Lieut. Howard Emery** and Engineer Officer **J. E. Dory** to stand outside the cabin door when he went in. According to **Daniels** subsequent testimony, upon entering, **Healy** accused him of being a liar and spat in his face. **Healy**, on the other hand, testified that he told **Daniels** he was unhappy with the manner in which the ship's log was being maintained, and to show his personal disgust had spit on the floor in front of **Daniels's** feet. **Emery** and **Dory** testified that although the door was open, they had not actually seen the confrontation. They had not, however, heard any statement from **Healy** concerning the log, except that **Healy** had called **Daniels** a liar, and almost simultaneously, **Daniels** exclaim that **Healy** had spit on him. This testimony was presented as evidence that Captain **Healy** had intended to

provoke **Daniels** into striking him. Captain **M.A. Healy**, Trial Transcript 1896,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives, 415,, 434,, 439,, 494,, 496-500,, 636,, 790,, 932,, 938,, Hereafter: Trial Transcript 1896

3.. **Lieut.** Emery to Secretary **Hamlin**, (Telegram) 29 November 1895; **Hamlin** to Emery (Telegram), 30 November 1895; Emery to Secretary **Hamlin**, 3 December 1895,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives. After the encounter with **Daniels**, **Lieut.** Emery sent the telegram to Asst. Secretary **Hamlin** stating: "Captain **Healy** is intoxicated on board the Bear insulting his officers, Immediate action necessary. "~~He~~ signed it: "1st **Lieut.** Temporarily in charge." On November 29,, Emery acknowledged receipt of **Hamlin's** telegraphic reply advising Captain **Healy** of his immediate relief as commander of the Bear, and directing Emery to file [new] formal charges. Emery subsequently informed Secretary **Hamlin** that he was submitting the charges, as directed, although similar ones had also been prepared by **Lieut.** George M. **Daniels** and that: "My telegram to the department asking for immediate action was in consequence of the condition of Captain **Healy** at the time as it was impossible to determine to what extent he might go. **Lieut.** **Daniels** also wrote to Secretary **Hamlin** advising that, "in view of the resignation of **Lieut.** C. M. White and, the apparent indifference of certain civil passengers," that other charges than those he had filed would also be appropriate, and requested that **Lieut.** Worth Ross be appointed as investigating officer. **Daniels** to Secretary **Hamlin**, 23 November 1895; Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

4.. Trial Transcript 1896,, 434; Foley, "Dream of an Outcast," 434..

5.. San Francisco Call, 26 November 1895..

6.. San Francisco Call, San Francisco Chronicle, Washington Post, 27 November 1895,, San Francisco Chronicle, 29 November, 1 December 1895.. The newspapers carried several articles which were highly uncomplimentary to Lt. Chester M. White, asserting that **Lieut.** White ran away without leave [with a chorus girl] and deserted his "young and beautiful wife during her critical illness." Of his wife, the articles asserted: "She wants to know nothing more about her unworthy husband and is waiting patiently for the time when the relations which she bore him can be legally severed." He is referred to as the officer who initially levied the charges against Captain **Healy** who was subsequently convinced by the treatment which he received from his shipmates, "that their sympathies were entirely with the Captain," White was interviewed later on the East Coast by reporters from the Boston Examiner and denied that he had filed any charges

against Captain **Healy**. He said he left the West Coast primarily to avoid having to testify against his commanding officer. **Lieut.** White referred to the other two officers involved as, "only having recently been assigned to the Bear," whereas he had served four years as Navigating Officer. "The only way I saw out of it was to resign from the service. When I went to Washington and conferred with **Secretary Hamlin** and Captain Shoemaker, I talked with them about my resignation and they both told me that on account of the charges which had been preferred against Captain **Healy**, inasmuch as I was the navigating officer of the Bear, the Department did not wish to accept my resignation . . . I was then ordered to Boston. I think that an injustice has been done to me in the interim that I preferred the charges against Captain **Healy**. Boston Examiner, San Francisco Chronicle, 7 December 1895. [White subsequently re-submitted his resignation, and it was accepted. He did not testify at the trial.]

7. **Healy** to **Secty.** Carlisle, 21 November 1895, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26, National Archives. In Captain **Healy's** answer to the charges, he indicated that he felt it was improper that their nature had been given to the eastern press and telegraphed all over the country. **Healy** remarked that this must have been done without the consent of the Secretary as it was against official regulations. "Therefore I am forced to the conclusion that it is the work of some malicious person or persons who are disposed to use every means to demean me and injure my standing as an officer and gentleman.*"

8. Washington Post, 27 November 1895..

9. San Francisco Chronicle, 28 February 1896, reported that a year earlier, **Lieut.** Worth Ross had charged Capt. **Munger** with drunkenness during the Alaska cruise of the Grant and that Captain **Hooper** had investigated the charges. While finding the allegation to be true, "the offense had not been repeated and 'Captain **Munger** had straightened up.'" **Munger** was subsequently relieved of his command and transferred to Seattle to supervise the construction of a new cutter. When **Lieut.** Ross heard this, he filed new charges against **Munger**, this time with the Secretary of Treasury. Captain **Hooper** recommended that they not be acted upon. It was also reported by the San Francisco Call in its issue of 14 March 1896, that the Treas. Department was extremely displeased with **Lieut.** Ross for fixing the matter while the **Healy** trial was in progress. As possible that occurring in incidents of this nature, **W.** had previously been brushed under the table by Captain **Hooper** may have scoffed at the department's resolve to proceed formally against **Healy**. It may also account for **Hooper's** being shifted from his command position on the West Coast.

10. San Francisco Chronicle, 27 March 1895..
11. Healy to Jackson, 31 December 1892,, Jackson Papers.
12. Bradley Henley to Secty.. Carlisle, 30 November 1895,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.
13. Healy to Secty.. Carlisle, Answer to Charges, 21 November 1895,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives .
14. Lieut.. Commander Frank A. Garforth RN, to Healy,, 24 November; Healy to Secty.. Treasury, 2 December 1895,, enclosing letter from Garforth,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.
15. Lieut.. Commander Frank A. Garforth RN, to Secty.. Carlisle, 12 December 12,, 1895,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.
16. Bishop James Healy to Fred Healy,, 5 December 1895,, Quoted by Foley, "Dream of an Outcast," 434..
17. Henley to C.S. Hamlin,, 25 February 1896,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives..
18. San Francisco Chronicle, 11 January, 8,, 9,, 20 February, 27 March 1896.. The San Francisco newspapers carried a number of stories, concerning the prejudicial effect of high level interference during the course of the trial. At one point it was reported that an effort had been made to secure the introduction of a Motion of Impeachment against Assistant Secretary Hamlin,, and that a friend of Captain Healy's in Washington had been asked to approach the California Congressional delegation, but instead reported the overture to the Treasury Department. The party in question was not identified in the news articles, but the remark was attributed to him that although he had great respect for Captain Healy,, he did not countenance this procedure, and that the overture itself had not originated with Captain Healy.. One could speculate that the Washington intermediary may have been Dr. Sheldon Jackson. -Jackson+-own papers reveal no personal correspondence with Captain Healy or his family during this period. In 1893,, following the murder of missionary Thornton, Dr. Jackson had interceded on behalf of Healy with both the Washington, D.C., and San Francisco newspapers. He had also interceded with the Washington newspapers in 1891, following the appearance of an article attributed to Harrison Thornton that was critical of Healy. In both instances, Jackson had substantial first hand knowledge of the facts. Jackson, however, did not accompany the cruise of 1895 and probably had

heard reports of Healy's drinking problem. Jackson was also dependent upon Treasury cooperation for his Reindeer Project, and was in the process of urging Congress to approve the transfer of Thetis from the Navy. San Francisco Chronicle, 9 February 1896,, reported **Attorney Henley's appearance** before the Trial Board disclaiming any responsibility on the part of Captain **Healy** for the series of newspaper reports. The 8 February edition which appeared the day before Henley's disclaimer, cataloged a long series of prejudicial actions on the part of Assistant Secretary **Hamlin**, including **Healy's** removal from command on the basis of **Ssery's telegram**, the appointment of Cap' **MM Francis Tuttle** to command the **Beaver**, the telegram **Lieut. Bchner**, the adjournment of the trial **McC. Sharp's** transportation across the country at government expense and the fact that Captain **Healy's** salary would be reduced by the sum of \$800 per year to recover the cost of the Point Barrow supplies disposed of by **Healy** at **Unalaska**. **Lieut. Reynolds** in his closing argument, subsequently alleged that the newspaper accounts obviously had originated from an inside source, as they only told enough of the story to be favorable to the accused. "They were utterly misleading concerning the actual testimony at the trial . . . they have come from those interested in creating a public sentiment in favor of Captain **Healy** and discrediting the prosecution. [I] believe an unbiased person would conclude that the defense has used its influence with the public press to make it appear that Captain **Healy** is a much abused and maligned officer and to arouse public opinion to his support and at the same time to create a prejudice against Lt. **Samuels**." Trial Transcript 1896,, ((Closing Argument of Lt. Reynolds, Unnumbered Pages) Yet the articles had succeeded in irritating Secretary **Hamlin** as apparent from his own journal entries, ante.

19. San Francisco Chronicle, 30 January, 4, 7, February 1896; Trial Transcript 1896,, 376..

20. San Francisco Chronicle, 5 January 1896..

21. Ibid.

22. San Francisco Chronicle, 19 February 1896..

23. San Francisco Chronicle, 20 February 1896..

24. Asst. Secty. **L. Zin** to Board, 28 December 1895; **Hodgedon** to **Healy**, 20 January 1896; Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

25. Trial Transcript 1896 (Statement of Charges), Unnumbered pages.

26. Trial Transcript ~~1896~~, 121..

27. Ibid., 130..

28. Ibid., 121..

29. Ibid., 131..

30.. Ibid., 197..

31.. Ibid., 342-343.

32.. Ibid., 341..

33.. Ibid., 378.

34.. Lieut.. L.T. Reynolds to Secty.. Treasury (Telegram), 29 January 1896; Asst. Secty.. Hamlin to Lieut.. Buhner (Telegram), 30 January 1896,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives. San Francisco Chronicle, 7 -February 1896,, carried the story of Buhner's angry confrontation with the Board and commented on the fact that the telegram had in fact arrived almost a week earlier, intimating that the confrontation might have been staged by Healy's adherents to emphasize Hamlin's interference with the proceedings. A further story carried a week later reported that Treasury officials were not at all pleased by the publicity that the exchange of telegrams had received. The Chronicle+ Washington correspondent quoted an unattributed Treasury official as saying: "Lieut.. Buhner and one or two others are so anxious to. shield Captain Healy that they are endangering their own reputations. Buhner has been 'in the service long enough to know better than to take the stand he has. He did not tell all he knew of Captain Healy's actions when on the stand, and that is the reason Asst. Secty.. Hamlin wired him as he did.'" San Francisco Chronicle, 14 February 1896..

35. San Francisco Chronicle, 14 February 1896..

36.. San Francisco Chronicle, 6 February 1896..

37.. Asst. Secty.. Hamlin to Hodgden, 7 February 1896;; Reynolds to Carlisle, 11 February 1896;; Reynolds to Secty.. Treasury, 28 February 1896,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives; San Francisco Chronicle, 13 February, 1896..

38.. Charles Sumner Hamlin ((1861-1938) Papers, ((1869-1955)),, Diary, 245-246, MSS Division, Library of Congress.

39.. Trial Transcript 1896,, 995; 926-929; San Francisco

Chronicle, 21 February 1896.. Before Sharp reached San Francisco, an article in the Chronicle, reported that he was prejudiced against **Healy because** he had been refused permission to trade with the natives for artifacts during the cruise, San Francisco Chronicle, 7 February 1896..

40.. San Francisco Chronicle, 4, 5, 7 February, 5 March 1896.. Information was leaked to the press that charges were filed against **Lieut. Daniels** by Dr. Bodkin, for "drunkenness on duty," and against Engineer Dory by several enlisted members of the crew, for "sleeping on duty and incompetency." Bodkin also **alleged** that **Daniels** was **insane**. It was reported these charges ~~would~~ be tried following ~~the~~ completion of the case against **Healy**. A later, February 11 article reported the charges ~~against~~ **Daniels** and Dory ~~had~~ already been investigated and **disposed** of. Two seamen from the Bear preferred charges against **Daniels**. One of the seamen, **William Boudry**, testified at the **Healy** hearing and admitted the crew had filed these charges as a result of **Daniels'** persistence in his accusations against Captain **Healy**. A transcript **was** made of the proceedings involving **Daniels** and Dory, conducted December 30, 1895, on the Rush. **Lieut.** Reynolds had access to this transcript ~~during his~~ cross examination of **Boudry**. Henley was denied access, by the Board. Trial Transcript 1896, 572.. The crewmen of the Bear were solidly behind **Healy** and 30 enlisted men wrote an **open letter** to the newspapers in his support. San Francisco Call, San Francisco Chronicle, 17 November 1895.- Even after the trial, this phase of the altercation continued **with** new accusations made by **crewmen** **against** the **officers** who testified in the **Healy** trial. On one ~~occasion~~ **personnel** **had** to be sent aboard the Bear from another ~~letter~~ **letter** to **suppress** a threatened mutiny, **and to** protect **En. Lezer** Dory from **harm**.

41.. Trial Transcript 1896, 389, 354-395 .

42: Ibid., 396..

43. Ibid. (Closing Argument of Lt. Reynolds) unnumbered pages.

44.. Henley to Asst. Secty. **Hamlin**, 5 March 1896,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

45.. Capt. **Hodgdon** to Secty. Treasury, 5 March 1896,, Revenue Marine Records, RG 26,, National Archives..

46: San Francisco Call, 25 March 1896..

47. **Charles S. Hamlin** papers, **Dory**, 245-246, (Library of Congress Transcript)

48.. Secretary of Treasury, **J.G. Carlisle**, Order of 8 June 1896,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives.

CHAPTER XV

LAST WATCH

Captain **Healy**, now reduced to half pay status, returned with his wife Mary, to their rooms at the Occidental Hotel in San **Francisco**. Although the **Healy's** owned a home in Oakland, it had been customary **for them** to reside at the Occidental part of the year. Mary **Healy** always stayed there during her husband's absences in the Arctic. Fred, their son, was no longer living with **them**.¹ Now graduated from Holy **Cross**, Fred **Healy** found employment first in Chicago, **and** later as a reporter for the San Francisco Call.

In the fall of **1897**, a year after Mike **Healy's** Court Martial, the nation's press was **filled** with articles describing the plight of more than **300** whaling seamen who were trapped in the Arctic at Point Barrow. The Revenue Cutter **Servic** was upon called to mount a rescue expedition, and the San Francisco newspapers took up the cause of returning Mike **Healy** to active duty as the most suitable person to supervise the rescue effort. Bishop James **Healy** sought **to aid** his brother, by enlisting the support of Maine Congressman Eugene Hale and Thomas **B.** Reed, Speaker of the House of Representatives, to intercede with the Treasury Department.

In a letter to Congressman Hale, Bishop **Healy** enclosed copies of the San Francisco newspapers, stridently calling for Mike **Healy's** reinstatement:

It shows the state of the public feeling in regard to [the] ice bound whalers . . . and also in regard to my brother, Captain **Healy** as the most fit person to head the rescue expedition . . . if in view of his past record you help him **redeem himself** and rescue the perishing, you will secure for all time the gratitude of yours truly, James Augustine **Healy.2**

The rescue effort was undertaken by . . . Revenue Cutter, Service and a prominent part was played by **men** who had been closely associated with Captain **Healy**. **Lieutenant** David **Jarvis**, Dr. S. J. Call, **2d** Lieutenant **E.P. F** half, and William T. **Lopp**, in the depth of winter, **drove** a herd of reindeer from **Lopp's** Reindeer Station across the top of the Arctic, to Point Barrow. Mike **Healy**, however, was not called upon to aid the effort. In San Francisco, he remained in the limbo of his suspension from **duty**.

During the time **Healy** was **in** the beach, he kept up a desultory liaison with his **friend** Sheldon Jackson. **Most** of their letters were chatty exchanges of gossip written by **Mary Healy**. In October **1898** she told Jackson that their son Fred, now an **Army** Officer, had written a series of letters about his experiences in the **Phillipine** Insurrection. These were published by the San Francisco Call. Mary **Healy** was proud of their son, "who stood high with the officers and men of his regiment and never **drinks**." She also informed Jackson that **her** husband recently **returned** from a trip to Alaska in which **he** had examined possible commercial ventures. He visited Cape **Nome** as well as **Unalaska** and Bristol Bay. Offered the **command**

of a paddle-wheel steamer on the Yukon River, carrying passengers and freight to the Klondike, he declined.³

The Healy's straitened financial condition forced them to move from the Occidental Hotel in 1897. Their new home, the St. Nicholas Hotel, was not as convenient to the San Francisco dock and wharf district or the center of the city. Mary Healy told Jackson, "The Doctor recommended it because the Captain was in poor health, but we have lovely rooms and the food is better." Mrs. Healy continued to visit the Occidental regularly, "because it was our home for so many years and I know so many of the people there." Doctor Call and Lieutenant David Jarvis stopped to visit while enroute to Washington to accept the gold medals awarded by Congress for their 1897 expedition to Point Barrow. "Jarvis is a good man," Mary Healy wrote Jackson, who remembered him from their first reindeer trading voyages, "and deserves all the glory that can be bestowed upon him?" Other service friends continued to pay occasional visits, and Captain Hooper was a regular caller, until his untimely death in 1900. Albert Buhner, now a Captain, and commander of the THETIS, as well as other officers and seamen who had served under Healy's command, stopped at the hotel to pay their respects, and keep Healy informed of service gossip.

Sheldon Jackson wrote to Jarvis in May, 1899, at Healy's suggestion. Mike Healy recommended that Jarvis apply for the appointment as commander of the cutter GOLDEN GATE, at

San Francisco. **Jarvis** was in poor health as a result of the trials encountered during the overland expedition, and **Healy** felt the climate of the Bay area would be beneficial. Jackson observed to **Jarvis**, that the suggestion seemed a good one and that he could be assured of Jackson's support with the Treasury Department.⁴

In January 1900, Mary **Healy** wrote again to Dr. Jackson, this time to ask his assistance in returning her husband to duty. "You yourself know well that during the years you were with him, he never drank on his vessel or while on duty . . . the whole thing is only a matter of influence." Mary **Healy** also informed the Presbyterian educator that during **Healy's** visit to Alaska, **he** had found it greatly changed after four years. Gold had been discovered at Cape **Nome**, and a new rush to the north was in progress. **He** also described a missed opportunity: "The Captain had been offered a claim at No. 2 by a friend but hadn't taken it, and he is sorry now because some of the officers and men in the service who had taken advantage of the opportunities which came their way, were well off now." Jackson, was still deeply involved in the Reindeer Project, and she told him of San Francisco reports that the Alaska Commercial Co. was planning to purchase Siberian reindeer to provide fresh meat at **Nome** for the **inners**. "The Captain doesn't like the idea because it will bring about illicit traffic, and will harm the natives. **He** thinks that **with Jarvis** not in command [of the Bear] that very little restraint will

be imposed upon anyone by Captain Tuttle.⁵

Mike **Healy** had little official contact with the Revenue Cutter Service during the period of his suspension. The new Gold Rush to **Nome** had seen antiquated ships brought out of retirement, and pressed into service to carry the gold seekers north. When **Healy** asked permission of the Department to visit Alaska, the reply from the new Assistant Secretary, **W.B.** Howell, was curt: "Remain as long as you want."⁶ Although the Department may not have intended to utilize his **services**, it still intended to keep an eye on him. The same year **Healy** visited Alaska, Secretary Howell ordered the Treasury Special Agent in San Francisco to, "institute an investigation and exercise surveillance over his [**Healy's**] movements and habits." The enquiry was to be, "**wholly** confidential," but the Department wanted to be kept informed of **Healy's** conduct. They particularly desired to be kept advised of his habits, "**in** the matter of excessive use of intoxicating liquors." There is no record of the reply. It is more than possible that Treasury Agent **H. A.** Moore, an old friend of the captain, would not have appreciated the order, and disregarded it.

Captain Washington **C. Coulson** had served as a member of **Healy's** court martial board. Now returned to sea duty, in **1900** he commanded the cutter, **McCULLOCH**. It was one of a new class of vessels, with greater sea-keeping capability, whose building was initiated by Captain **Shepard** before his death. The **McCULLOCH**, enroute to San Francisco by the Suez Canal when

the Spanish American War broke out, joined Admiral Perry's Squadron and participated in the battle of Manila Bay.⁸

During the war, the Arctic patrols were suspended, but in 1900 they were again reinstated.. The MCCULLOCH, now would go north that year, and Captain Coulson with Treasury Department approval sugges d that Captain Healy accompany the cruise to Alaska. Healy w~~ould~~ ad have no official dut~~ies~~es to perform, and would act only as an observer to familiarize himself with the new vessel. The promise, as yet unspoken, was that Healy might soon be returned to duty.

Healy was enthusiastic, but other events intervened to change the character of his return to the quarter deck. On May 25; just prior to the cutter's departure, Coulson telegraphed an urgent request to the Depart~~ment~~ent from Seattle advising that his wife had been taken seriou~~s~~s ill, and that he did not wish to leave her. He asked th~~at~~at temporary command be assign~~ed~~ed to Healy until the cutter's return to Puget Sound.⁹

Captain Shoemaker, Commandant of the R.C.S.#, was on the West Coast at the time. Shoemaker telegraphed the Department on May 28 from San Francisco,, advising that he had investigated Captain Healy's conduct during the past year, and recommended that Coulson's request be honored." Coulson's emergency leave was approved. On May 28, Capt~~ain~~ain Mike Healy was ordered to relieve him temporarily, as c~~ommander~~ommander of the MCCULLOCH.¹¹

It was his first active duty in four years. The

MCCULLOCH sailed from San Francisco with 1st Lieutenant R. W. Thompson serving as **Healy's** second in command, and the voyage north was uneventful. They reached **Unalaska**, now renamed Dutch Harbor, on June 14. ¹² A number of vessels were already assembled waiting for ice conditions in the **Bering** Sea to open; so they could continue their journey to **Nome**. During the **Klondike** Gold Rush in 1896, unseaworthy vessels were placed in service to accommodate the flood of gold seekers. Many of these vessels were ill-manned, improperly provisioned, and dangerously unsafe. Although there had been miraculously few accidents, the ice ridden waters of the Bering Sea presented even greater hazards, and made it necessary for the **R.C.S.** to impose a rudimentary inspection to assure the minimum requirements of seaworthiness. During the following eight days, the inspection of the assembled vessels was carried out by the **MCCULLOCH's** officers.

On June 23d the **MCCULLOCH** was at sea again, shepharding the convoy of miscellaneous sailing ships and steamers, thronged with passengers and cargo, to **Nome**. The cutter anchored in the shallow **Nome** roadstead on June 25, and next day headed south to Norton Sound and St. **Michaels** to execute its principal mission of re-provisioning the Revenue Cutter **NUNIVAK**. The **NUNIVAK**, a stern-wheeler river steamer, commanded by Lieutenant John Cantwell, was assigned to patrol the Yukon River. At **St. Michaels**, the **MCCULLOCH's** surgeon, Dr. James Taylor White, whose diary had recorded so many of **Healy's**

drinking escapades, was transferred to the Yukon River patrol boat, along with four seamen. Dr. White would be sorely missed in the course of the remaining days of the voyage. At St. . ~~Michaels~~, ~~Healy~~ agreed to provide transportation to Seattle, for Mrs. Ada P. French, the wife of a Yukon River missionary. The R.C.S. had not quite divorced ~~itself~~ from ~~t?~~ ~~Lily~~, largely established by Mike ~~Healy~~, of rendering form of assistance to Alaskan missionaries and teachers. ~~M. !~~ French was assigned a separate stateroom opening off of the Captain's quarters beneath the quarterdeck.

The ~~McCULLOCH~~ was underway again by late evening of June 26,, and returned to briefly to ~~Nome~~ before setting course for Dutch Harbor and the first leg of the return voyage to Seattle. At Dutch Harbor on July 4,, ~~Captain~~ ~~Healy~~ went ashore and visited with old ~~friends whom~~ he ~~not~~ ~~seen~~ during the years of his enforced ~~retirement~~. ~~Lie~~ ~~flowed~~ ~~by~~. ~~Healy~~ succumbed, and had to be ~~carried~~ back ~~board~~ the cutter and placed in his bunk. Everything went well enough for the next two days, and the incident might have passed without notice. No mention of the Captain's condition was recorded in the ship's log.

On ~~the~~ morning of July 7 when the ~~McCULLOCH~~ was in the middle of the Gulf of Alaska 400 miles south of ~~Alaska~~ Peninsula, First Lieutenant Thompson was ~~called~~ ~~the~~ Captain's cabin. The steward who summoned him, ~~was~~ ~~obviously~~ agitated, unable to explain coherently the reason, but

insistent that the officer accompany him. When Thompson arrived at the cabin, he found Mrs. French locked in her stateroom, and Captain **Healy** in- a drunken condition, seated on the floor outside her door. From inside her locked cabin, Mrs. French appealed to the First Lieutenant, for protection. Obviously distraught, she told Thompson that Captain **Healy** threatened to take his **own** life, and had been constantly calling to her throughout the night, to come out of her cabin. She said she was in fear for her life, and insisted upon protection from Captain **Healy**.¹³

With the assistance of the wardroom. steward, Lieutenant Thompson helped **Healy** to his own quarters, and sent word for the officers not on duty, to convene in the Wardroom. At **10:40** a.m. when the officers were assembled, Thompson told them what had transpired. It was agreed **they would** visit Mrs. French's cabin together, and hear her version of the incident. When they **were** congregated in the hallway, Mrs. French, still nervous and frightened, again refused to open the door. Through the closed cabin door she gave the following account which was **recorded in** the **ship's** log:

At **5:00** o'clock this morning the Captain called repeatedly to me and asked me "**For** Christ's sake come out, " and kept calling me at intervals until **10:00** o'clock at which time he asked **me: "if** I would be friends with **him."** I said it was impossible. At about **10:30** he called me repeatedly until I was obliged to answer "What is **it?**" He replied: "**I** am going to kill myself right now." I was dreadfully frightened and rang the bell repeatedly for the boy and knocked on the floor for help, but for twenty minutes could get no one. At last the boy came, and I asked for **Mr. Thompson**

and appealed to him for protection saying that I preferred to sleep on deck to remaining in the cabin.¹⁴

The officers agreed that Mrs. French would be offered the protection and accommodations of the Wardroom. Captain Healy was informed of the decision, by a delegation of officers, and the transfer made. During the visit to Healy's cabin, his intoxication was evident, and First Lieutenant Thompson felt compelled to convene another meeting of the ship's officers, to consider the advisability of relieving him of command. At this meeting it was decided that as long as the Captain did nothing to jeopardize the safety of the vessel or its personnel, no further action would be taken. In the meantime, Lieutenant Thompson assumed control of the operation of the vessel. An entry was made to the ship's log, recording the incident and the decision. The signatures of the officers were affixed as witnesses.

Next evening, shortly after 6 p.m., Captain Healy came out of his cabin and onto the deck where he encountered Mrs. French. Saluting, he addressed her briefly, "Good By Madam", then stepped to the rail. With both legs over the side, Healy was at the point of dropping into the sea when Assistant Engineer J. I. Bryan, who was present, succeeded in grabbing him. After a short struggle, Healy was taken below to his cabin. Following this attempt to commit suicide, Lieutenant Thompson called yet another officers meeting. This time it was

officer ~~on~~ watch and another seaman, who saw what was happening, rushed over to assist **Stedham**, and they managed to wrestle **Healy** back down to his cabin. Lieutenant Thompson issued new orders directing that the cabin door be locked on the inside, and the **key** retained by the man on watch.

At **10:30** that same ~~evening~~ the seaman on duty in **Healy's** cabin sent for the duty ~~officer~~, Second Lieutenant **W. Joyner**. When **Joyner** arrived he ~~was~~ told that the Captain was seen to obtain a kitchen utensil from his pantry, and conceal it in his bunk. Lieutenant **Joyner** ordered the bunk searched. Hidden at the foot of the bunk bed, under loose clothing, they discovered a sharp **bladed** knife. A batten was ordered nailed across the door to prevent further access to the pantry. At 5 a.m. next morning, **Healy** was detected attempting to strangle himself with a ~~curtain~~ rod while **lying** in his bunk. **Stedham**, who was in the ~~room~~, saw the movement and restrained him. The following morning, **Healy** again unsuccessfully tried to commit suicide, this time by cutting his wrists with a piece of glass.

July **11** dawned with the **McCULLOCH** proceeding under sail in a moderate **N.W.** breeze off the northern coast of Vancouver Island. Several two-masted schooners were ~~observed~~ standing to the westward, and the ~~captain~~ was employed ~~in~~ sailing ship. Captain **Healy** remained ~~in~~ in his ~~quarters~~, under guard. The day continued ~~pleasant~~ without any new ~~disturbances~~. At ~~6:15~~ p.m. the steamer CITY OF **NOME** from San Francisco, was

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sighted to the south, sailing abreast of the cutter. She was carrying a signal at the foremast which could not be made out, but it was apparent that she was in distress and proceeding slowly under a jury-rigged **sail** on her forward deck, which barely provided steerage-way. The cutter approached within hailing distance, and discovered that the steamer's propeller was disabled. An offer of assistance to tow her to **Pugett** Sound, was accepted.

Shortly after midnight on July **12**, Third Lieutenant Henry **Utke** Jr. came on deck to begin his watch. He was met there by the seaman assigned as guard inside the Captain's Cabin. **Healy**, while lying in his bunk with his hands concealed, succeeded in inflicting a deep gash in his left forearm by using the broken crystal from his pocket watch. When **Utke** arrived in the cabin a moment later, he found **Healy** lying in a pool of blood. The artery of his left ~~arm~~ had been severed. Pressure was applied to the wound to staunch the blood flow, and Lieutenant Robinson was summoned. **Healy** struggled vigorously, resisting the efforts made to stanch the flow of blood, and four men were required to hold him down while the artery was tied off, and the wound closed. His arm was restrained by putting it in splints, and strict instructions were given to keep his hands **in** sight at all times. A temporary bed was rigged on the floor of the **cabin.**¹⁶

The following morning, the southern tip of Vancouver

Island came into sight, and by evening the cutter was passing Cape Flattery. The guard over Captain **Healy** was increased to three men at 8 p.m., and an hour later the cutter entered the Straits of Juan de **Fuca**. The following morning with the CITY OF **NOME** still in tow, the **McCULLOCH** came to anchor in Port Townsend Bay, alongside the cutter **GRANT**. Lieutenant **Thompson** immediately went ashore to make arrangements for his transfer to the Marine hospital. The Surgeon in charge agreed to accept **Healy** only on the condition that two seamen were assigned to accompany and guard him. Shortly before noon **Healy** was sent ashore, and next morning the **McCULLOCH** was underway again for Seattle where Captain **Coulson** was waiting,

At Port Townsend, Lieutenant Thompson sent a telegram to **Washington** reporting the cutters arrival. In Seattle, he sent a detailed report by telegram informing the Treasury Department that Captain **Healy**, under the effect of excessive drinking, had made repeated attempts to commit suicide, and was only prevented from doing so, by the alertness of the officers and enlisted crewmen. Thompson reported the decision made to relieve **Healy** of command, and asked that he be ordered to Washington "at once," to explain the extraordinary aspects of the case. He also noted that Mrs. French, "makes serious charges against the captain." Captain **Coulson** resumed command of the cutter in Seattle, and was directed by Commandant Shoemaker to conduct an investigation. **Coulson** concluded his enquiry on July 23, and reported to Washington

that all of **the** papers and affidavits were being mailed, including the sworn statement of Mrs. **French**.¹⁸

The Seattle newspapers quickly picked up the story. They published front page accounts that described **Healy's** condition as that of a, "raving maniac," with, "**little** hope that he will recover his reason." The newspapers **described** his confinement at the Marine Hospital in a strait jacket, and also accurately reported the several attempts he had made to commit suicide. No mention was made of alcohol, or intoxication being a factor. The officers of the vessel refused to be interviewed or answer any questions concerning the incident, other than to confirm that Captain **Healy** was confined at the hospital in Port **Townsend**.¹⁹

In the meantime, Surgeon **C.H.** Gardner, at the Marine Hospital, was anxious to be **relieved** of responsibility for **Healy**. ~~Commitment~~ proceedings were instituted to have him **adjudged** legally insane. A special session of the Jefferson County Superior **Court** was convened at the Hospital on July 14.. The hospital physicians testified that **Healy** had, "**many** attacks of insomnia,, lasting a week or **more**," during the ~~preceeding~~ four years due to his concern over his future career in the Revenue Service. They also testified, "**his** intemperate use of liquor, within the last two weeks," had caused the suicidal mania and deep depression from which he was currently suffering. The diagnosis, based upon the ~~well~~ known court martial, was probably an accurate one. **Healy** was

was judged insane, and suitable to be committed to **an institution.**²⁰ Attempts were made to have **Healy** admitted into a private hospital at **Mt. Tabor**, Oregon, but the decision **was** finally to have him treated at the Washington State Institution for the Insane at **Steilacoom.**²¹ On July 15 he was transferred there. The Seattle newspapers featured the story that **Healy's doctors**, "**did** not think there was any chance of the unfortunate man recovering his **mind.**"²²

Contrary to this **gloomy view**, the attending **physicans** at **Steilacoom** soon reported, "[**he**]" appears to be doing very nicely, although still showing some tendency towards a melancholic condition." The wound on his arm was almost healed, and his physical health was **improving.**²³

Mary **Heals** was at her husband's side. His two brothers Bishop James **and** Father Patrick **also received** the news of Captain **Healy's** ~~latest~~ crisis, and wired Mary their sympathy and support. Father Patrick's notation in his diary for July 25 noted: "Letters from Bishop **Healy** with enclosures from Mrs. **Healy** says Michael may recover. No word of drinking. Officers like **him.**"²⁴ Mary **Healy** also wrote to Father Patrick of her husband's progress at **Steilacoom**:

Last **thursday**, I went over to the Hospital and your letter was **handed** ~~rel~~ **rel** I was glad to get it, and **thank** the **good** bishop **and** **y** **zself** **for** your kind sympathy and prayers, both of **whic** I stand **a** great need of, for I am truly broken **hearted** **and** **cannot** understand why I have to go **thru** so **much**. Mine **has** been a chain of crosses for the past **five** years. It seems I must succumb under the weight. This last blow has been a shock it will take some time for me to recover from **it.**

I was so in hopes we were to be on our feet again; and I felt sure that Michael would again achieve a greater name than he had before, but it seems our dear Lord wills it otherwise . . . , It is hard to say, but if it was God's will and Michael will be prepared, it would be better that he take him, for then we would not dread the future for him. **Don't** think me unkind for thinking this way, but I dread what any day may bring him. He looks very badly, but is **improving.**²⁵

Mike **Healy's** recovery was slow, and experienced a setback on August 5 when word was received of the ~~sudden death~~ by heart attack, of his brother Bishop James Augustine **Healy**. In the twenty five years Mike **Healy's** older brother had administered his diocese in Maine, he had became one of the leading Catholic Churchmen of New England, and his work on **behalf** of the widows and orphans of the Civil War, and his struggle against the abuses of child labor, had earned him the title, "**The Children's Bishop.**" On the national scene Bishop **Healy** ranked high among the Catholic prelates of the last quarter of the nineteenth **century.**²⁶ Mike **Healy** was unable to attend his brother's funeral, Father Patrick was present, and his sister **Eliza**, now Prioress of Notre Dame Nuns, as well as their younger brother Eugene, the ostracized black sheep of the family who became a professional gambler. The Archbishops of Quebec and Boston conducted the Requiem Mass in which **150** clergy from New England and Canada paid their last respects to a former **negro** slave who had risen on his own merits to become one of the best regarded Catholic churchmen in America. To Mike **Healy**, probably recalling the death of Captain Leonard

Shepard, it seemed he was being ~~deprived~~ once again of friendship and counsel, at the time of his greatest **need**.

Healy's career ~~in~~ the Revenue Service seemed at an end. He had been warned that his use of alcohol, even during the period of his suspension, would result in his dismissal, Captain Shoemaker must inevitably ~~have~~ felt chagrin at his error in recommending **Healy's** reins~~&ment~~, and ~~assignment to~~ command of the **McCULLOCH**. His return to duty was ~~not~~ yet even officially recognized in the orders ~~of~~ the service, when the new crisis of his intoxication and misconduct had ~~intervened~~. ~~27~~ **Healy**, on more than one occasion attributed to others, the misfortunes which he had manifestly brought upon himself. In **1896** he blamed "highly placed enemies" in the department, and particularly Assistant Secretary **Hamlin** for his court martial. The transferred guilt ~~of~~ the alcoholic is seldom better portrayed ~~than in~~ the career of Mike **Healy**. He repeatedly had managed to **avoid disciplinary** action prior to the formal proceedings initiated in **1895**, and could rightly have expected that this last incident would mean the end of his career. Surprisingly, it did not. The logical sequel to **the** events that transpired on board the **McCULLOCH** in **1900**, did not occur. Instead of being summarily dismissed from the Revenue Cutter ~~S. S. Steilacom~~, Mike **Healy** ~~was~~ **lived** to be reinstated in the ~~command~~ of a cutter in ~~the~~ north. How this **came** about may **never** fully comprehended.

Healy was discharged from **Steilacom** in September, and

returned with Mary, to San Francisco. He was then sixty two years of age, and had spent more than **30** years in the Revenue Marine, and Cutter Service. Placed on Waiting Orders, in the fall he was called to Washington by Captain Shoemaker? There is no **record** of what transpired in his meeting with the Captain-Commandant, but he would wait another year before again being offered a post. In the meantime, no further official action was taken against him. It is evident from the surviving references Mike **Healy** made regarding Captain Shoemaker, that he considered himself beholden to the Commandant for preserving his career from irreparable ruin. It is uncertain whether political influence played any part in the decision. **Healy** had not been notably successful in using his political friendships, and was also deprived now of his most ardent and articulate advocate, his brother. There are a host of factors that may have played a part in Shoemaker's decision. Shoemaker had finally succeeded in securing the passage of the long sought retirement bill. Mike **Healy** required only three years more service to become eligible. The Captain Commandant undoubtedly recognized that for all of the headaches he caused, **Healy** had contributed **significantly** to the traditions and public esteem of the service. Some ~~hint~~ of this may be seen in the sparse record which indicates that **Healy** was still regarded by some of the Junior Officer Corps as a man under whom they could serve with pride, and with whom they associated many of the early exploits of their

service.²⁹ Nor was it likely that anyone in the Treasury Department wished to have a **re-play** of the publicity which had characterized **Healy's** trial in **1896**. Shoemaker was also in a position to know well the personal enmity Secretary **Hamlin** had occasionally manifested during those proceedings. By **1900**, the Captain Commandant able to ~~exercise~~ a greater **degree** of independence in his **command**. ~~If~~ the Revenue Cutter Service. He was given greater latitude in disciplinary ~~matters~~. The fact that **Healy** had not been officially reinstated at the time the incidents took place on the **McCULLOCH**, may have been a fine distinction which Shoemaker felt he could make. That there was no scandal in the form of public comment in the news media, concerning **Healy's** intoxication, helped. The processes involved in Shoemaker's decision will never be known for certain. The official records of the ~~incident~~, have been removed from the Revenue Cutter **Service** ~~files~~. Their ~~designated~~ place is marked only by a card with the notation: "Removed By Order of the Captain **Commandant**."³⁰

Healy was not returned to duty for more than a year, and remained on Waiting Orders status from July **27, 1900** until July **17, 1901**. Captain **O.C. Hamlet**, in July, **1901**, submitted a report to Shoemaker indicating that, "**Captain Healy's** conduct had been **satisfactory**."³¹ Hamlet was the Superintendent of Construction on the West Coast, the ~~post~~ previously **held** by **Hooper**. **Healy** had always demonstrated a particular competence in supervising the repair and outfitting of the vessels he

commanded, and Hamlet may have had this in mind when he recommended **Healy's** reinstatement. That this in fact, may have been the case, is also revealed -by the assignments **Healy** subsequently received. On July 22,, orders were issued appointing **Healy** to temporary duty as commander of the GOLDEN GATE, at San Francisco Bay.³² The GOLDEN GATE was being laid up for major overhaul, and **Healy** would supervise the work*. On September 3 he was able to report the vessel ready for sea.³³ October 25 he was reassigned to the HARTLEY, another Bay Area cutter,, again to supervise her overhaul and refit at the Mare Island Naval Yard.³⁴ When this work was completed, Mike **Healy** continued in command until April 4,, 1902.³⁵ In the meantime, in January 1902 **Healy's** name was reinstated on the Captain's List of the Revenue Cutter Service.³⁶

As early as November, 1901,, **Healy** began maneuvering for command of a cutter in the north. A report received in San Francisco, late in the fall, indicated that the town of **Unalaska** had been taken over by unruly elements. One hundred and fifteen riff-raff, rounded up by the authorities at **Nome**, were shipped out before the harbor froze tight for the winter. Dumped at **Unalaska**, they were unable, or unwilling, to obtain passage south and reportedly were terrorizing the small Aleutian community. **Healy** in a telegram to Washington suggested that the only way of knowing the true condition at **Unalaska** was, "to go and see." He proposed a winter voyage

utilizing the **McCULLOUGH**, and suggested that a crew could be made up from the personnel of the other cutters in the **Bay** area. Drawing upon his **experience** of **20** years in Alaska, and his familiarity with what passed for law and order there, **Healy** also suggested he be commissioned as a Deputy U.S. **Marshal** so as to be able to compel compliance with his **orders**.³⁷ He assured **Shoemaker**: "You can depend on me in all matters personal." The telegrams to Washington **CC** continued well into December even proposing that Mrs. **Healy** accompany him as a possible further assurance of his good **conduct**.³⁸ The situation proved less serious than originally reported, and possibly **Shoemaker** was hesitant in any event, to take another gamble with **Healy**. On December **5**, **Healy** wrote to **Sheldon Jackson** to tell him the decision was not to send a cutter north, and that it was a disappointment. **Mary Healy**, "who had her bags all packed." He also confessed to **Jackson** that, "Though years are passing on me apace my interest in Alaska and its people is still strong."³⁹

By the spring of **1903** more than five **thousand** **gold** seekers were gathered in San Francisco and Seattle, ready to embark for the **Nome** gold fields. A rich new strike had been discovered in the black sands of the **Nome** beaches. The vessels that would carry them, not only materially safe for the dangerous voyage into the ice filled **waters**, would rendezvous at Dutch Harbor, to await the arrival of the cutters to **shepherd** them north. The **BEAR**, still under the command of

Captain Tuttle, was engaged in transporting reindeer from Siberia and making the annual cruise to Point Barrow. Three cutters were also required to **protect** the **Pribilofs** from the ravages of Japanese sealers. The resources of the Revenue Cutter Service were stretched to their limit, and every available vessel that was capable of sailing to Alaska, was being pressed into service, and even the veteran RUSH, was ordered north again, that summer.

The Northern Commercial Co., successor to the Alaska Commercial Co., was anxious to earn the premium **fares**. **they** could command for assuring passengers their vessels would be **the** first to reach **Nome**. The company planned to send its steamers north, early that year. The Treasury Department was **informed** by company officials that their steamers, PORTLAND and JEANNIE would sail in the spring, and requested a cutter be sent to meet them at Dutch Harbor on **May 1st** to assist in their passage through the Bering Sea ice. They asked that command of **the** vessel assigned this duty, be entrusted either to Captain Michael **Healy**, or Lieutenant David **Jarvis**.⁴⁰

Captain Shoemaker issued orders on April **11**, for **Healy** to take command of the THETIS, and prepare her for departure, "at the earliest possible **date**." Even **Healy's** strenuous **efforts** could not prepare the cutter for sailing earlier than mid-May. The THETIS arrived at Dutch Harbor too late to rendezvous with the **Nome** bound passenger steamers. They had already **departed**.⁴¹ Hurrying on to **Nome**, **Healy** arrived

there on June 22 to discover that the PORTLAND and JEANNIE had not been seen, and were missing somewhere in Bering Sea. Rumors were rife that both ships, carrying more than 200 passengers, were caught in the ice north of the Diomed Islands, and were being carried further into the Arctic.⁴² With the assistance of the cutter MANNING, Healy began to search for the missing vessels. While Healy took the THETIS north into the Arctic Ocean, the MANNING steamed to Nunivak Island to investigate a report that one of the ships was aground there. Washington was already being deluged by telegrams from Nome, and San Francisco, expressing concern for the missing steamers and their passengers. Healy reported the progress of his search by telegram: "We have been further north than prudence would warrant, most of the time in dense fog . . . we steamed north in clear water and were invariably met by immense floes in returning." All in all, he reported, were that the PORTLAND had been carried deep into the ice pack. "Should these vessels have drifted north of Point Hope, I would state it is my opinion that there is no hope of ever seeing them again except by a fortunate accident." Healy was pushing the THETIS to its limits, and it was like the old days in the CORWIN and BEAR. Healy was exhilarated, but he was getting long in tooth for this type of work, and advised Shoemaker: "The strain on myself and crew is wearing."⁴³ Whalers were pressed into the search, and the THETIS made two cruises into the Arctic Ocean, as far north as

Port Thompson, before her movements were blocked by ice. The missing vessels were not sighted, and **Healy** shifted the search to the Siberian Coast.

Finally, on July 12,, word was received at sea from the passing whaler NARWHAL, that both missing vessels had managed to escape **from** the ice, and reach ~~Nome~~⁴⁴ When **Healy** arrived there with the THETIS. on July 20,, he found new orders waiting for him. He would transport a U.S. District Court party to Bristol Bay, the site of scores of new salmon canneries. ⁴⁵ The THETIS would function as an authentic "Floating Court," this time with all of the trappings of the justice system. It was an indication of the changes that had transpired in the north during **Healy's** absence. But a mishap early in the voyage **cut** short the THETIS cruise. On August 4,, the THETIS ran aground on an uncharted shoal at the mouth of the **Nushagak** River. **Re-floated** at high tide, with no observable damage, **Healy** felt it was advisable to return to San Francisco in September to avoid the danger of exposing the weakened **vessel**, to the fall storms in the North **Pacific**.⁴⁶

Mike **Healy** relinquished his command in San Francisco, but it was a successful voyage. **Healy** had relived the old days of his experiences in the north, and both he and the venerable THETIS had come through with flying colors. Once again, he became the lion of the San Francisco waterfront. More important, the Department was pleased, and Captain Shoemaker had been vindicated for the confidence he had placed in **Healy**.

It was almost the sundown of Mike **Healy's** career, but he demonstrated that age **had** not diminished his vigor or enthusiasm.

Reappointed to the command of the THETIS the following spring, he once more would accompany the whaling fleet to the ~~Arctic~~⁴⁷ The beginning of the voyage was delayed at the ~~Puget~~ Sound Naval yard. The late sailing made it difficult for **Healy** to obtain a ~~competent~~ crew, and he complained of being forced, "to sign on half the drunks of the Seattle waterfront."⁴⁸ By passing the gold rush city of **Nome**, the THETIS continued on to Port Clarence from **Unalaska**. He found the familiar anchorage closed by ice, an unusual occurrence so late in the year. Arctic whaling also was in its last throes. Whereas in earlier years more than **200** ships had hunted whales in the North Pacific, by **1903** the fleet had dwindled to ten vessels. **Healy's** attempt to reach Point Barrow, was also forestalled by heavy ice ~~conditions~~⁴⁹

The **1903** voyage proved to be Mike **Healy's** last. He received word from the Department before sailing, that on September **22**, his **65th** birthday, he would be retired, but until his return from Alaska, he would remain in command of THETIS. Mike **Healy's** last voyage proved how many things were changed, and others had ~~remained~~ the same, since he ~~first~~ began sailing to Alaska in **1869**. The mission of the ~~Arctic~~ Cutter now was primarily to ~~provide~~ assistance to the ~~criminal~~ justice system. John Brady, one of Sheldon Jackson's **teachers**,

was now Governor of the Territory. An old acquaintance of **Healy's**, Brady was concerned more than his predecessors had been, with the problems of law and order. Brady witnessed the lawlessness that plagued **Skagway** during the **Klondike** Gold Rush, and was determined to avoid a reoccurrence. Together with Judge James Wickersham at **Nome**, he asked the Attorney General's assistance in requesting the Treasury Department to make two cutters available that summer, to provide law enforcement in the coastal communities. The **THETIS** and **RUSH** found themselves transporting judges-, Deputy Marshals and prisoners, and calling at the scores of small villages and canneries that had sprung up along the Alaska coast between **Valdez** and **Nome**.⁵⁰ It was a far cry from the days when Mike **Healy** was the only preserver of the peace, and de-facto court of justice, north of **Sitka**.

Healy also found himself with **33** shipwrecked seamen and passengers on his hands, from the wreck of a foundered schooner. It was like the old days. But something new had been added. **Healy** declined to confine a deserting seaman from the schooner **GARMS**, on the basis that the new Seaman's law permitted a man to leave his ship at any American port without being subject to forcible detention? The **THETIS** commander also reported his officers were conforming to the new departmental regulation for wearing their uniforms while on duty at sea. It was another change from, the old order he had known. But as much as conditions may have changed, it was

evident that Mike **Healy** had not. He did not succumb to his old weakness during his last voyage, but did succeed in earning an official reprimand for "using uncalled for, **unofficerlike**, and indecent language in the presence of his officers and crew. "52

Mike Healy had not outlived his usefulness, but unlike his ~~belly~~ **1** BEAR which was destined to remain on active service ~~for~~ another **40** years, he was an anachronism **fn** the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service at the turn of the Century. On October **23,, 1903** the THETIS returned to San Francisco, **and** Captain Michael A. **Healy** was retired. Less than a year later, on August **30,, 1904,,** he died of a heart attack at the Occidental Hotel where he and Mary had lived for so many years. The San Francisco press, which had acclaimed his exploits, as well as the ups and downs of **6** career for more than **25** years, recorded his passing in a **32** quarter inch news **article** On an inside **page.53** The ~~may~~ **ma** ~~10~~ **11** ten years earlier they referred to as the, **United States** Government in the North," was dead and almost forgotten. Mary **Healy** followed her husband, three 'years later.

Notes

1. The **Healy's** lived at the Occidental Hotel on Montgomery Street, at least part of the year from **1885** until they moved to the St. Nicholas. They returned to the Occidental in **1903**, and it was there that **Healy** died. Mary **Healy** continued to live there until her death. The Occidental was owned and managed by William B. Hooper. The **Healy's** also ~~owned~~ had a home- in Oakland, and when the Bear was tied up at Oakland for the Winter, the **Healy's** lived ~~in their~~ Oakland home. There is no indication of their living there after **1896**.

2. Foley, "**Dream** of an Outcast, " quoted, **440**..

3. Mary ~~Healy~~ to Jackson, **28** October **1898**, Jackson Papers. There is another Mike **Healy** in the history of Alaska that has occasionally contributed to a confusion of names between the two men. The other Mike **Healy** was the owner of a trading schooner in **S.E.** Alaska, operated a trading post on the **Dawson** Trail, and **was** an unsuccessful candidate for appointment as Customs Collector at **Sitka**. In the late **1890's** he owned and operated riverboats on the Yukon River. The **Healy** Papers contain a large printed poster advertisement of shipping and passenger service offered on Yukon River steamers commanded by Captain Mike **Healy**. Which of the two men it refers to, is uncertain.

4. Jackson to **Jarvis**, 5 May **1899**, Jackson Papers. **Jarvis** was appointed Collector of Customs at **Nome**, and later at **Sitka**. He lobbied Congress on behalf of various **fisher**es interests, and later became involved with the Alaska Syndicate, owned by the Guggenheim Interests. The Alaska Syndicate was an unsavory chapter in Alaska history. **Jarvis** was Treasurer of the Syndicate, and committed suicide in Seattle when he was named in an action brought by the Federal Government to recover funds in connection with fraudulent deliveries of coal to Army Posts.. Ernest H. Gruening, The State of Alaska. (New York: Random House, **1954**), **337**.. —

5. Mary **Healy** to Jackson, **17** January **1900**, Jackson Papers.

6. Asst. Secty. **W.B. Howell** to **Healy** (Telegram), **10** June **1898**, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

7. **W.B. Howell** to **H.A. Moore**, 2 June **1898**, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

8. Truman R. **Strobridge** and Dennis L. Noble, "North in the

Spring, **South in the Fall**," Alaska Journal, 8 (1978), 60-69;
 Division of U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, The United States
 Revenue Cutter Service in the War with Spain, 1898,
 (Washington: GPO, 1913), 13. Captain **Hodgeson**, who was
President of **Healy's** Court Martial Board, commanded the
McCulloch in the Battle of Manila Bay.

9.. **Coulson** to **Secty.. Treasury** (Telegram), 25 May 1900,,
 Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

10.. Shoemaker to Treasury Department, ((77 :-am) 28 May
 1900,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National
 Archives.

11. **Healy** to **Secty.. Treasury**, 28,, 29 May 1900,, Revenue
 Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

12.. Log of **U.S.R.S. McCulloch**, May 28 - June 10,, 1900,,
 Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives. In
 the absence of **Coulson's** report and the affidavits concerning
 this incident, the entries to the ship's log are the only
 contemporary record.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17.. **Thompson** to **Secty.., Treasury**, 17 July 1900,, Revenue
 Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

18. **Thompson** to **Secty.., Treasury**, 18 July 1900; **Coulson** to
Secty.., 23 July 1900,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**,
 National Archives.

19. Seattle Post Intelligencer, 14,, 15 July 1900..

20. Jefferson County Probate No. 241,, Jefferson Cty
 Courthouse, Port Townsend, Washington.

21. **Thompson** to **Secty.., Treasury**, 24 July; Surgeon **Gardner**?
 to Surgeon General, 18,, 21 July; Henry Waldo **Coe** to **C.M.**
Gardner, 25 July, 22 August 1900; Revenue Cutter Service
 Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

22.. Seattle Post Intelligencer, 15 July 1900..

23.. **F.L.** Goddard (Supt. **Steilacoom**) to **C.M.** Gardner, 24 July

1900,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

24.. Foley, "Dream of an Outcast," **447**..

25.. Ibid., **448**

26.. Foley, Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcast, **280-90**; Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, Dictionary of American Negro Biography, (New York: W.W.Norton, 1982), **302-303**..

27.. Revenue Cutter Service, Register of Officers, Vol. 3,, **1886-1901**, **20** (Michael A. Healy,, Officer Record), Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

28.. White to Jackson, **11 November 1900**, Jackson Papers. Captain White wrote to Sheldon Jackson asking his assistance in obtaining his son's admission to Annapolis. In his letter, White refers to the fact that Healy was called to Washington to confer with Captain Shoemaker. This is the only record of the incident.

29.. Healy to Department, **3 December 1901**; Lieut. Cushing to Department, **22 January 1902**; Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives. There are a number of letters in the Revenue Cutter Service files in which officers requested to serve under Healy,, following his reinstatement.

30.. The documents in question ~~are identified~~ in the correspondence indexes and include the reports of Lieut. Thompson, affidavits of officers, crewmen, and Mrs. Ada French, as well as the report of Captain **W.C. Coulson**. None of these could be located in the Revenue Cutter Records, Alaska File, or in the Officer Record file of Captain Healy.. Lieut. Thompson was apparently successful in limiting the impact of the incident. There are references in the newspaper. articles and telegraphic exchanges to "food poisoning." Thompson's greatest **success** was in keeping references to alcohol out of the news stories.

31 **O.C.** Hamlet to Shoemaker, **17 July 1901**, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

32.. Healy to Shoemaker, **29 July**; Hamlet to Shoemaker, **30 July 1901**, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives,

33.. Healy to Department, **16**, **19 August**, **3 September 1901** (Telegram), Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives,

34.. Hamlet to Department, 12 November 1901,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

35.. Hamlet to Secty., Treasury, 19 November, 11 December 1901; Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

36.. Revenue Cutter Service, Register of Officers, Vol. 3,, 1886-1901,, 20; Vol. 4,, 1895-1905,, 37; (Michael A. Healy, Officer Record), Entry for 11 January, 1902. (Restored to Original Position)

37.. Healy to Department, 30 November,, advising Shoemaker that "you can depend on me in all matters personal . . . May I take my son;" (Telegram), 3 December 1901,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

38.. Healy to Secty., Treasury (Telegram), 6 December 1901,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

39.. Healy to Jackson, 5 December 1901,, Jackson Papers.

40.. M.L. Washbourn to Secty., Treasury, 7 March 1902,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

41.. In his first voyage on the Thetis, Healy found her to possess some qualities which were superior to those of the Bear. She was an, "extremely economical user of coal," but under sail, woefully deficient, "not much more than a floating hulk without coal." Healy to Secty. Treasury, 16 July 02,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archive::

42.. Healy to Shoemaker (Telegram), 23 June 1902,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

43.. Healy to Shoemaker (Telegram), 26 June; Healy to Secty., Treasury, 16 July 1902,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

44.. Hamlet to Secty., Treasury (Telegram), 2 July 1902,, Revenue Cutter Service Records, RG 26,, National Archives.

45.. Wickersham to Healy, 7 July 1902,, Alaska File, RG 26,, National Archives. A submarine telegraph cable had been carried to Alaska with stations at Sitka, Juneau, Valdez, St. Michaels and Nome. At this same time the cutters were also being equipped with wireless, but its range was limited. Verden McQueen, "Alaskan Communications, 1867-1914," Aerospace Historian, 11 (January 1954) 16-23.

46.. Healy to Secty., Treasury, 11, 17, 23 August 1902,,

Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

47.. Healy to Secty..., Treasury, 7 May **1903**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

48.. Healy to Secty..., Treasury, **24 July 1903**; Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives. **Healy** reported they were: "performing well," and that he had a good. Sergeant at Arms. Al though Revenue Cutter Service Warrant and **Petty Officers** were enlisted for a period of years, crews were made up of seamen signed on for the cruise. It was not until after the turn of the century that this was changed. As most of the sea-going cutters were laid up for the winter in **San Francisco**, each spring a. new crew had to be enlisted, and the cutter commanders were faced with the same problems as merchant ship masters in securing competent personnel to man their vessels. Time was a critical factor, and if permission to enlist crewmen was delayed until late in the spring, **considerable** difficulty was experienced in securing competent sailors to man the cutters.

49.. Healy to Secty..., Treasury, **11 June, 7, 24 July, 19 August, . 12 September 1903**; Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives.

50.. Attorney General to Secty..., Treasury (Enclosing letter from Governor Brady), **27 February**; **Secty...**, Treasury to Attorney General, 5 March, **16 April**; **Secty...**, Treasury to **Secty.. Interior**, 8 June **1903**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives; **Theodore, Hinkley Jr**, Alaskan: John G. Brady, (Columbus: Ohio University Press, **1982**), **181-183, 193-205**,

51. Healy to Secty..., Treasury, 7 July **1903**, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives. The "**McQuire Act**," codified as **18 U.S.C.A. Sec. 563**, was passed over stiff opposition in Congress in February **1895** and repealed the provisions of the Shipping Act of **1890** by abolishing imprisonment for seamen who deserted their ships in an American port. After it was restrictively interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court, **amendatory** legislation was incorporated in the 'White Act' passed on December **13, 1898**, codified in **46 U.S.C.A. Sec. 666, 670**. It was undoubtedly this relatively new statute to which **Healy** was referring.

52.. Michael A. Healy, Officer Record, entry for October **17, 1903**, Revenue Cutter Service Records, **RG 26**, National Archives.

53.. San Francisco Chronicle, **31 August 1904**.

CHAPTER XVI

ALASKA, MIKE **HEALY** AND THE COAST GUARD

The American historian Frederick Jackson Turner asserted that American democracy and self government developed in **large** measure as a result of our western frontier experience. Turner propounded a series of essential propositions in support of this hypothesis. The last and most important aspect of Turner's thesis concerned the free public lands which served to attract the sturdy farmers and which led to the fostering of frontier institutions: "[T]he existence of an area of free lands, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American **development.**"¹

Much of Turner's version of the west has limited application to Alaska, **although** Turner in his later writings did refer to Alaska as providing a new frontier to the nation. More recent attempts to apply the Turnerian thesis to the Yukon Basin recognize that it does not fit the history of Alaskan coastal **development.**² **One might argue** that there are two separate frontiers of Alaska development, but it must be conceded that the earliest and most important was the maritime frontier, and the free lands that drew American settlers never existed. It is in this context **that** Turner is examined.

The day of the independent frontier trader, so important to Turner, had passed, if it ever really existed

prior to America's acquisition of its Northern Territory. Trade was organized by the Russians on a corporate basis long before 1867.³ When the Americans came, trading resumed in much the same corporate form, following the purchase by the Alaska Commercial Company of the Russian American company interests. There was no significant presence of independent American traders on the Alaska Frontier.

The Indians who played a part in Turner's thesis, had little to do with Alaska's frontier development. Although there were warlike tribes, they had largely been subjugated by the Russians before the Americans appeared on the scene. Among the Eskimos, there was no animosity. These docile, friendly people were, in any event, too engrossed in maintaining their own frugal existence to find the time or inclination to be hostile to the white man. Of the much vaunted American attribute for Jacksonian frontier independence, and pursuit of the ideals of local self government, there is also precious little to be seen. One of the striking characteristics of the American settlement of Alaska was the relative absence of interest in developing local political institutions. In the principal settlement at Sitka, the community made an initial half-hearted attempt at creating a town authority which soon collapsed when the Army refused to continue the functions the municipality should have assumed. Thereafter, the residents of Sitka refused to take up the burden of self government.⁴ Skagway as late as 1897, and Nome with its more than 30,000

inhabitants in 1901,, both rejected early movements to form local governments.

Of the equally legendary characteristic of Americans to provide their own rough and ready forms of justice, frequently by means of Vigilantes, there is almost a total absence. The ~~teeble effort~~ at Skagway in 1897 was only in its formative stages when Soapy Smith ~~met~~ his demise, making ~~further~~ action unnecessary.⁵ At Nome, a community sorely tried by the machinations of the Noyes Ring of claim jumpers, proposals for vigilante action, though often voiced, came to nothing? Miners courts were occasionally active, but more often than ~~not~~; were directed against the aboriginal inhabitants. Such law and order as did exist was usually in the shadow of the authority of the Army, Navy, or Revenue Marine. Later it was ~~undertaken within~~ the ~~teeble~~ framework of a Territorial justice system, but still had to rely on the assistance of the military. The lawless condition of Alaska communities has frequently been contrasted with their neighboring Canadian counterparts. In the Canadian Yukon, law and order in the form of the Northwest Mounted Police operated well in advance of the spread of settlement.

The last of Turner's propositions concerning free public land and its magnetic attraction to potential farmers and settlers, likewise did not exist in Alaska. There was land, some of it potentially suitable for agriculture, but it was not opened for settlement and farming until after the turn

of the century. There were few of Turner's sturdy farmers accompanying the boomers who flocked north in 1867. These men, for the most part, were seeking-business prospects and looking to exploit the fur resources of the new territory. The essential ingredient that might have encouraged them to stay was not present. There was no land, and whatever trade potential might have existed was soon monopolized. The corporate presence which made itself felt very early in Alaska history, continued in later years to exercise control of the salmon, mining and transportation industries, when these were developed. Preemption laws, that gave an individual the right to claim land, were not applied to Alaska; and general land legislation did not come until after the turn of the century. No hopeful settler could acquire title in real property; no pioneer could clear the forest or build a cabin with the assurance that it was his; no prospector could stake a mining claim with any security for his enterprise; and no land could be deeded or transferred.⁷ Alaska's lands were tied up for more than one hundred years, and continue in a somewhat anallagous state, even today.

In fairness to Turner, it must be admitted that Alaska is perhaps not a proper place to apply his interpretation of the historical significance of the Western Frontier. Alaska joined the national pageant either too early or too late, depending on one's point of view. When Gilded Age America acquired its Northern Territory, it was already preoccupied

with the larger problems of populating its existing western lands, recovering from the **Civil** War, and erecting an urban-industrial complex. The rich opportunities which Alaska seemed to offer at first, proved elusive. The problems associated with Alaska as a frontier were too large and ~~distant~~ to be attuned to the concerns of the rest of the country, and her geographic handicaps made them impossible to overcome. Alaska could have benefitted from intelligent planning and consistent administration, but no frontier area... at that time received such methodical deliberation. David Starr Jordan has said that the territory's retarded development stemmed from neglect, but irrelevance might have been a more appropriate **term.**⁸

Turner's thesis has been criticized, even in its application to the western plains states, yet it has been conceded that some relation most likely does exist between our history and our frontier. Canada, in attempting to apply the Turnerian hypothesis has had little success. The forest and plains environment of the Canadian West proved of secondary importance to their maritime frontier centered on the Maritime Provinces, the St. Lawrence River, and the Great Lakes. British Columbia, which developed separately from the rest of Canada, had an even more predominantly maritime configuration. Canadian historians have therefore suggested that the development of Canada should be approached differently, and it should be viewed with greater recognition given to the vital

role played by transportation, in the development of national and regional Institutions. Interest in transportation routes, presupposes consideration of their foci - the cities, and their rise through competition for control of the hinterland. The study of the development of the cities where the major ~~transportation~~ routes converge, Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, thus does more to explain the course of Canadian history than the Turnerian ~~thesis.~~⁹ The Canadian ~~analogy~~ seems appropriate to Alaska as well, and contributes to a better understanding of the ~~part played~~ in its development, or the lack of it, by San Francisco, and Seattle.

A broader reading of Turner has also become current, suggesting that there were actually a number of different frontiers that can be studied,' and these do not always coincide. Turner recognized four phases in the development of the west: first, the exploration stage; second, the trapping and trading stage; third, the soldier and missionary stage, and finally; the fourth, or farming and settlement stage. Turner considered these to be largely developmental, but a broader interpretation suggests that the frontier could also be looked at as a means of studying institutions, while these were still forming. The important distinction is that the Frontier should ~~be~~ viewed as a process, in the context of an identifiable ~~region.~~¹⁰

This approach provides a broader framework within which to consider what occurred on the Alaska Frontier. While

Turner's most important frontier stage, that of the farmer may not exist, there are other historical characteristics influenced by Alaska's unique maritime environment which profoundly effected social, political and economic developments. It is suggested that the means by which Americans reached, were sustained, and exploited the resources of the territory, was in large measure a constraining ~~of~~, of a maritime nature. The maritime influence effected not ~~only~~ Alaska, but national institutions as well. In a sense, this influence still is an important factor in considering America's national defense and energy needs in the **20th** century.

The exploration stage of frontier development in Alaska corresponded to the American land frontier experience and was even more varied. The discovery of the region's rich fur resources by the Siberian **Promyshlenniki** caused European influence to extend eastwards from Russia. At the same time the Spaniards were approaching from the south, the first systematic survey **of** Alaska was made in **1778** by Captain Cook, exploring the existence of a Northwest Passage. Cook's published reports attracted other explorers, La **Perouse** in **1785**, **Malaspina** in **1791**, and Vancouver in **1793**. On land, Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific **waters** of Prince Charlotte ~~Southern~~ at the same time Vancouver was surveying the coast.

The trading frontier was also a clearly established

phase in the development of Alaska, although an unduly prolonged one. The military frontier is less clear, if it existed at all. While the Army established posts in Alaska in 1867,, these never contributed to permanent settlement; and when they were withdrawn 10 years later, many of the original ~~American~~ settlers departed with them. At this point a different phase of American frontier experience seems to have come into existence, the Alaska Maritime Frontier, which continued ~~until WWII~~ when improved means of communication and transportation was spurred by national defense interests to link Alaska more firmly with the "outside." It was in the early period of the Alaska Maritime Frontier that Mike Healy had his greatest influence, and played an important role in Alaska development. It was during this time that Alaska, dependent upon maritime transportation, was at the mercy of an indifferent national government, and ripe for exploitation,, not by individual frontiersmen of the Turner ~~model~~, but by corporate interests. Alaska also, in a sense, became a prisoner of Seattle. Its economic dependency was exploited, and the development of its institutions, was systematically retarded by this relationship.

The great distance that separated Alaska from the contiguous United States, and the absence of land transportation shaped the character of social, as well as political and economic institutions in the North. From the beginning, men came there without families, and not to settle.

There was little interest in establishing permanent communities, as was demonstrated in the early history of **Sitka,, Skagway,, Wrangell** and **Nome..** They came primarily for employment in the **exploitive** industries which rapidly passed into the hands of industrial developers, the only ones with the capital necessary for large scale exploitation. These companies turned to historical labor sources and imported immigrant workers, largely single males. Few were interested in becoming permanent settlers, and there was limited means, in any event, for year-round employment and means of gaining a livelihood.

Transportation constraints not only impeded the **development** of Alaska's economy it slowed the growth of self government. The territory was held in **thrall** to Seattle, whose only interest was in exploiting the natural resources of the North for the benefit of the corporations in that city. Alaska's maritime lifeline was not only prey to poorly charted and dangerous waters, severe weather conditions, and the highest tidal changes on earth, but also to **seasonality**. Great activity in mining and fishing were followed by six months of economic hibernation. These factors were stressed to justify demands for higher freight rates and to exclude transportation companies that were **not** associated with the **exploitive** industries, the only **source** of return cargoes. Well into the **20th** century, only **a single** monopoly carrier was capable of operating in the trade, and its interests were closely

associated with the preferential carriage afforded to the Morgan-Guggenheim mining conglomerate, and the canned salmon industry. The situation was made even more critical by the provisions of the **1920** Jones Act requiring that all cargo carried to, and from Alaska, be shipped on American bottoms. This effectively excluded Canadian carriers, much closer to Alaska, from participating ~~in~~ Alaska's sea-borne commerce.¹¹

In the absence of even a facade of competition, high rates rose higher and service deteriorated. As late as **1952**, Territorial **officials** contended: "High transportation rates are responsible, more than any other factor, for the economic backwardness of Alaska, and for the cost of living level so high as to discourage settlement, year-around residence, and industrial and other **development**."¹² Seattle, **in 1896** saw its opportunity to gain economic control of Alaska transportation, and to treat the territory as an economically dependent hinterland. Seattle consolidated its position by effectively freezing-out Vancouver, B.C., and Portland, as competitors. Seattle interests also blocked a compromise settlement of the disputed border issue which would have provided Canada with a seaport **and railroad** corridor to the interior of **Alaska** that would have benefitted both northern Canada and Alaska **development**.¹³ The Pacific Northwest, for more than fifty years, effectively opposed self government for. Alaska and exercised effective political, as well as

economic control, through its Congressional **delegation**.¹⁴

Alaska's frontier was predominantly maritime in character. It differed from the frontier postulated by Turner, and more closely paralleled the Canadian experience with **its** focus on the development of transportation routes, and the economic hinterland of cities. Mike **Healy** had a **significant** role to play in the early formative period of this **frontier**. He fostered and protected pioneer economic activity, **this** whaling industry, and mining. He aided commerce by improving geographic knowledge of America's northern territory. He supported and safeguarded the activities of explorers, traders, miners, missionaries and settlers, **and provided** what was for many years the only evidence of law, and the existence of a national interest and a superior power in the Northland. **Healy** played an early, and active part in the **protection** of the fur seals, and helped to focus national **attention** on the importance of safeguarding this resource. **He contributed** to improving the nation's scientific knowledge of Alaska and **its people**, and was a prime mover in initiating one of the great humanitarian undertakings of the **19th** Century. For these alone, Mike **Healy** deserves a place alongside the historic figures of the **American** West. To a significant degree, he also contributed to **the** traditions of the **U.S. Coast** Guard, and it is perhaps for **this**, he would prefer to **be remembered**.

The **importance** of the Alaska Maritime **Frontier** to the development of the U.S. Coast Guard, and to a lesser extent

upon the Navy, is also an important focus of interest in considering the career of Mike **Healy**. The **Revenue*Marine** was a moribund coastal police force in -the **1870's**, stagnated like the Navy, in the post Civil War period. Lacking professional leadership, the service was regarded as a poor relation of the Spoils System dominated Treasury Department, and largely under the control of local Customs Collectors. It was fortunate to have been headed at a crucial period in its history by Ezra Clark, who had the vision to see the opportunity Arctic exploration, and participation in the search for the missing **DeLong** expedition would have, for focusing national attention on the service. The two voyages carried out by **Hooper** in **1880** and **1881**, and his subsequent published **reports**, ~~brought~~ a measure of national recognition to the Revenue Marine. The **CORWIN's** cruises also established a precedent that vessels assigned to Alaska would be under the **direction** of the Chief of the Bureau, which eroded the control previously exercised by local Collectors.

Beginning in the **1880's**, and continuing until after the turn of the century, the Revenue Marine was the principal national **instrument for protecting the Alaska fur seals**. The dispute over America's right to safeguard the seals by declaring the whole of Bering Sea as "Territorial Waters," involved the **U. S.** in a major confrontation with Great Britain and served as a focus of national, and international, attention. It brought increased prominence to the Revenue

Marine as an arm of American maritime power, and was a significant reason for the appointment of the first professional Captain-Commandant of the service. Captain Leonard G. **Shepard** was selected on the basis of his experience in Alaska, and it was **Shepard** who initiated the reforms that" carried the Revenue Marine into the modern era. His efforts paralleled those of a ~~hamifull~~ of naval officers who were advocating reform and ~~modernization~~ in the U.S. Navy, at the same time. **Shepard** initiated changes in the recruitment and training of officers and men; inaugurated the Service Training Academy, at New London; began the effort to secure a retirement system that would relieve the internal pressures arising from its swollen ranks of superannuated officers; and ordered the design and building of a class of modern vessels capable of high seas performance and improved sea-keeping qualities. **Shepard** gave the service an ~~ocean-going~~ capability, and changed its orientation from a harbor and ~~coastal~~ patrol force. By the late **1890's** the Revenue Cutter Service had become firmly established as an independent branch of the American naval service, and agitation for assimilation by the Navy largely became quiescent? Alaska was not only the forum for these changes, but the demanding requirements of service in the North Pacific ~~was~~ an important circumstance in bringing them about.

The Alaska Maritime Frontier had a unique impact upon the U.S. Navy as well. Between **1879** and **1884**, naval officers

became de-facto Governors of Alaska. It was a new experience for the Navy, that was repeated to some extent during the Spanish American War.¹⁶ The 1890's also saw the navy play a role in the protection of the fur seals, but their antiquated wooden vessels, which would not have been very much out of place at Trafalgar, not only proved inadequate to the task, but dangerous when employed in this role. The navy's Alaska experience hastened its own modernization, and the school of hard-knock seamanship to which its commanders were exposed, equipped several to play leading roles in the coming Spanish American War.¹⁷

The complaints against the veteran commander of the BEAR alleging that he had repeatedly been discourteous to his junior officers; had ordered one officer placed under arrest, and then directed him to erase the entry from the log as soon as he had been released; that he had refused to receive an introduction to a Second Assistant Engineer on the GRANT; and had violated the norms of conduct during the social gathering on the PHEASANT, were probably typical of Mike Healy's attitude of his command responsibility? When questioned by the press, Healy minimized the charges.

Healy jealously guarded his prerogatives as a commanding officer, and everyone knew Healy's style was that of a brusque "old school" officer. Yet his manner and his language to junior officers was resented. On many occasions these outbursts occurred while Healy was drinking. Of a

naturally imperious disposition, perhaps aggravated by deep seated feelings of his own insecurity, and tempered by years of command authority at sea,- the consumption of even modest amounts of alcohol, brought out the worst traits of his personality. A temperament manifested itself that was overbearing and sarcastic, frequently ~~directed~~ at junior officers. The officers ~~of~~ the ~~receiving~~ end ~~of~~ **Healy's** caustic tongue were also not ~~necessarily~~ only those serving under his command. He directed his remarks without favor, to any officer. who happened to cross his yard-arm. ~~Healy~~ made no apologies for his language and brusque manners, as he stated during the court martial, When I am in charge of a vessel, I always command; nobody commands but me. I take all the responsibility, all the risks, all the hardships that my office would call upon me to take."

Friends like **Hooper**, ~~Burns~~ and **Shepard** who had served with **Healy** and respected his ~~professional~~ abilities were unable to influence him. These officers, ~~aver~~ the-years, and to the extent possible, also attempted to shield him from the worst consequences of his drinking. But he made a legion of enemies as well as friends and supporters, and the hostility that was growing up around him, was ~~to~~ come to a head in his trial. The outcome was almost ~~a foregone~~ conclusion, and it **is** evident that the ~~Department~~ in ~~finishing~~ **Healy** was also beginning a reform in the ~~service.~~¹⁹ **Healy's** conviction was a warning to the many heavy drinkers of all ranks on the

cutters. Liquor would ~~not~~ be ~~barried~~ aboard ship until 1912,, but intoxication now carried a severe penalty.

The junior officers who ~~brought~~ the charges against **Healy** were motivated by factors other than personal grievances alone. It was true that there was evidence brought out in the course of the trial to indicate that the witnesses against **Healy** had conspired very early in the voyage to bring about this result. But there was substantial testimony to convey an impression of the frustration that was felt by the junior officers of the service with superannuated and incompetent superiors who could not be retired, would not resign, and evidently could not be effectively disciplined to conform their conduct to acceptable professional standards.

Lieutenants Emery, **Daniels** and Smith were all recent graduates of the rejuvenated Service Academy. One of Captain **Shepard's** most important reforms had been to revitalize the officer training program, and the new two year curriculum concentrated on professional and technical subjects. By reopening the School of Instruction, he assured to the service a steady supply of well ~~trained~~, and career **oriented** line officers. Like the U.S. Navy, during the same period, the Revenue Cutter Service was experiencing a surfeit of young officers. Consequently, promotions were few, and many careers were becalmed. The new breed of young officers had little in common with the majority of their counterparts who had entered the service through the merchant service, or **by** patronage

appointment. The senior officers who continued on active duty effectively blocked the channels of promotion and stultified professional ~~opportunities~~ for the Junior Officer Corps. The average Second Lieutenant of the Revenue Cutter Service in ~~1895~~; could look forward to spending sixteen year in grade before his first promotion, and ~~gray~~ haired Lieutenants were not uncommon. However, unlike the Navy, there were as yet no strong service traditions binding the officer corps. It was still very much a service in transition,

The Revenue Cutter ~~Service~~.~~was~~ suffering from the same ~~critical~~ malaise that had affected the U.S. Navy only a few ~~years~~ earlier. ~~Elting Morison~~, the historian and biographer of ~~Admiral~~ W. S. Sims, has written that the U.S. Navy of the late 19th century, "is a paradise for the Historian or Sociologist in search of evidence of a societies' response to change." An institution that believes ~~that~~ its survival is threatened may respond to the menace in a ~~host~~ of ways. Individuals who feel that their professional lives are imperiled, react vigorously, and the conflicts between junior and senior officers kept the U.S. Navy in a state of ~~unrest~~ for ~~nearly~~ two decades and measurably altered the nature of the service. The Junior -Officer Corps of the Navy revolted against the stultified promotion system and the ~~superannuated~~ ~~senior~~ officers ranks. There was a veritable ~~"mutiny"~~ at ~~2~~ ~~1890~~ ~~S.~~, and ~~elsewhere~~, ~~young~~ officers made their ~~discontent~~ ~~known~~. The Navy like the ~~U.S.~~ may ~~not~~ have been an avenue of golden opportunity to

the junior officer, but after years of preparation it was still a ~~desireable~~ **career.**²⁰

It must be conceded that f-or a group of junior officers to file formal charges against one of the most senior members of their service, no matter how **well** justified, was a course of action without precedent. The accusers of Captain **Healy** recognized that they were jeopardizing their future careers, but it is also likely that they saw their chosen profession seriously jeopardized by not compelling the Treasury Department to put its house in order. They were sustained throughout the trial by a host of other young officers who came forward to corroborate their accusations. The charges were prosecuted with vigor and determination by another junior officer who brought to his task all the zeal of a crusading social reformer, and perhaps was a reflection of all the frustrations felt by his peers.

TO a considerable extent, Captain **Shepard's** death also contributed to the ambiguity of the situation. **Shepard** was the first Captain Commandant appointed since the Civil War. He was a crucial figure in the history of the U.S. Coast Guard. In addition to the other reforms he initiated, particularly in rejuvenating the Officer Training Program, he established the first Service Regulations, and improved the rations, salary, and conditions of service ~~for enlisted~~ personnel, all designed to bring the service into greater conformity with the Navy. **Shepard** took advantage of the national concern for protecting

the fur seals to wrest control from the **Collectors** of Customs, and institute a realistic system of military command. While **Shepard** introduced many modernizing trends, he was not successful in persuading Congress of the critical need for a retirement system.

Captain Leonard **S. Shepard's** fatal ~~illness~~ was brought on by his efforts to secure Congressional ~~approval~~ of the long-sought retirement program. A Bill, ~~introduced~~ as a result of his efforts, was pending in the House of Representatives on the last days of the waning session. **Shepard** was continuously present on Capitol Hill, supporting the measure, and he remained there until the early morning hours of March 3, 1895, working to secure the measure's passage. When he ventured out of the building at 3 a.m. in the morning, and found that the street cars had stopped running, ~~he was~~ forced to walk in the snow to his home on Nineteenth Street **S.W.** Next morning he woke with a severe cold, and two days later collapsed at his desk in ~~the~~ Treasury Department.

It is unlikely that **Shepard** would have been able to shield **Healy** from the incidents that followed from the 1895 voyage. But it is at least possible that **Healy's** stubbornness and bitterness would have been tempered by **Shepard's** counsel. With his death, Mike **Healy** lost a friend who ~~perhaps~~ more than any other officer in the service; with the ~~possible~~ exception of captain **Hooper**, recognized **Healy's** strengths as well as his fatal weakness.

because he was a **Catholic**"²² of **Healy's** own writings, which are believed to have at one time consisted of four volumes of diaries and memoirs, -nothing survives. Reportedly, they were destroyed by a daughter in law who discovered in them, the **negro** ancestry of her own **husband**..²³

Mike **Healy** was the product of a remarkable family. It is apparent however that, like the rest of his family, Mike **Healy** sought to avoid being identified as black, and this undoubtedly would provoke much criticism today. The Anthropologist, Everett **Stonequist** has observed that persons of mixed racial blood frequently experience a profound inner conflict as a result of their living in two separate social **worlds**..²⁴ The antagonisms and prejudice which they experience in the outside world is often reflected by an intense inner conflict. It is possible to read into his frequent running away from school in his early years, some hint of this. Mike **Healy** sought during his lifetime to identify with his father's race and nationality, and who can gainsay his right to do this. It was in fact imposed upon him, when his father systematically removed his family from the South, and was reinforced by the social group in which Mike **Healy** chose to make his career. He identified with the group that accepted him, and enabled him to achieve a substantial measure of national fame. But this **same** group would have no place for a person who was known to have **negro** blood in his veins.

His career at sea epitomized his restlessness, as well as his sensitivity to epithets concerning his Irish Catholic background. Both **Healy** and his brothers were driven in their careers by the desire to compensate for what they had been deprived of by society, contacts outside their religious and ~~professional~~ environments.

A remarkable man, Mike **Healy** deserves to be remembered, not only for the part he played in the early history of the US. Coast Guard, but for his contributions to the early history of Alaska, as well.

Notes

1. Quoted, George Rogers Taylor, **ed.**, The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History, (D.C. Heath, Boston, 1949),, 2.

2 Melody Webb, The Last Frontier, (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1985), xi, 2.

3. For the early history of the Alaska Commercial Co., see: Frank H. Sloss, "~~Who~~ Owned the Alaska Commercial Company?" Pacific Northwest Quarterly? 68 ((1977)) 120-30; Richard A. Pierce, "~~The~~ Hutchinson, Kohl Story: A Fresh Look," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 62 ((1971)) 1-6; Richard A. Pierce, "Prince D. P. Maksutov: Last Governor of Russian America," Journal of the West, 6 ((1967)) 395-416; L. D. Kitchener, Flag Over the North: The Story of the Northern Commercial Company, (Seattle, Superior Publishing Co., 1954)..

4. The first municipal government was organized in **Sitka** in **November 1867**, and limped a-long until February of **1873**. In **1879** the residents refused to organize a "Provisional Government," though entreated to do so by Navy Captain Lester Beardslee. One of the main reasons was fear that it provide a reason for the military to withdraw. Ted C. **Hinckley**, The Americanization of Alaska, (Pacific Books, Palo Alto, Calif., 1972),, 41-42,, 56-57,, 132; 'Bobby Dave Lain, "**North** of Fifty **Three**," .264-272.

5. William R. Hunt, North of 53: The Wild Days of the Alaska Yukon Mining Frontier 1870-1914, (McMillan, New York, 1974),, 44-52.

6. Andre R.C. Helms and Mary Childers Manguso, "The Nome Gold Conspiracy," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 73 ((January 1982)) 10-19.

7. Ernest Gruening, The State of Alaska. (Random House, New York, 1954),, 35; Lain, "**North** of Fifty Three," 327-329.

8. Jordan, President of Stanford University, was one of the principal scientific investigators of the Alaska fur seals during the prolonged international controversy. He was strongly opposed to the acquisition of the **Phillipines** for the reason that he did not think the United States knew **how to** administer Colonial Territories. Quoted by **Hinckley**, The Americanization of Alaska, . 243.

9. Marvin W. Mikesell, "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," Turner and the Sociology of the Frontier. Richard Hofstadter, ed. (Basic Books, N.Y., 1968),, pp.152-112; J.M.S.

Careless, "**Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History**," Canadian Historical Review, 35 (March 1954), 1-21; W.N. Sage, "**Some Aspects of the Frontier in Canadian History**," Canadian Historical Association, Report of 1928, 62-72, cited by Mikesell, 157. See also: Ray Allen Billington, The American Frontier, Publication No. 8, (Washington, D.C., American Historical Association, 1958), 12-28.

10. 1949), Frederic L. Paxson, "**When the West was New.**" The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History, George Rogers Taylor, ed., (D.C. Heath, Boston, 1949), 34-42.

11. Gruening, The State of Alaska, 237-251, 417-418, 424-431.

12. Ibid., 426.

13. William A. Harper, "**The Alaska Boundary Question: The Seattle Commercial Interest and the Joint High Commission of 1898-1899.**" Journal of the West, Vol. 10, (April 1971), 253-272; Jeannette Paddock Nichols, "**Advertising and the Klondike**," Washington Historical Quarterly, 12 (January, 1922), 20-26. Both of these articles describe the activities of **Erastus Brainerd**, who was appointed Secretary of the Bureau of Information of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, and carried out the successful campaign to have Seattle recognized as the "Gateway to Alaska."

14. Gruening, The State of Alaska, 490.

15. This was a projected effort by the Secretaries of the Navy over a span of twenty years, and sometimes with the approval of the Secretary of Treasury. One alleged reason was to find placement opportunities for junior officer graduates of the Naval Academy. See: U.S. Congress, House, Report on Economy and Efficiency in the Government Service, House Document 670, 62d Cong., 2d Sess., 1912, 269-397.

16. Lester A. Beardslee, the first Naval Governor of Alaska, as a Rear Admiral during the Spanish American War, was responsible for the capture and administration of the former Spanish possession of Guam.

17. A number of the naval officers who figured in this period of Alaska history became prominent during the war. Captain **Robley Evans** is best remembered as Captain of the Battleship Oregon at the battle of Santiago.

18. Graduates of the new Academy were frequently sent to the Bear for their initial sea duty. **Healy** did not have kind

things to say about their level of practical experience, when they came under his command. He spoke his mind frankly on this issue to Captain **Shepard**. **Healy** to **Shepard**, 28 April 1890,, Alaska File, **RG 26**, National Archives. **Healy** even accused Lieutenant John C. **Cantwell** of "shamming" an illness at **Unalaska** in 1889.. The incident is reported by Surgeon White, "Diary of Cruise of Revenue Cutter Bear," 29,, 30 June, 1 July, 1889..

19 Evidence of this is seen in Lieutenant Worth Ross preferring charges of intoxication against Captain **Munger**,, and reporting his complaint directly to the Treasury Department, by-passing official channels.

20. San Francisco Chronicle, 14 November, 3 December 1895;; **Elting E.** Morrison, "A Case Study of Innovation," Engineering and Science Magazine, 9 (April 1950)) 7-15;; Peter **Karsten**, The Naval Aristocracy, (New York: Free Press, 1957)), Ch. 6,, 277-326;; **Caspar** Goodrich, "Esprit De Corps - A Tract for the Times," U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, 24 ((1898)) 12-49..

21 Secretary **J.G.** Carlisle announced the appointment of Captain Charles **F.** Shoemaker to replace **Shepard** on March 19,, 1895. Shoemaker was then commander of the cutter stationed at the Washington Navy Yard, and formerly Inspector of the Lifesaving Service on Long Island. At the time of his appointment, Shoemaker held the rank of Senior 1st Lieutenant and was appointed Captain concurrently with his appointment as Chief of the Revenue Cutter Service. Reported as a "life-long Democrat", at the time of his appointment, Shoemaker served 35 years as an officer of the Revenue Marine and Life Saving Service. Originally commissioned 3d Lieutenant on November 20,, 1860,, Shoemaker was stationed on the cutter Lewis Cass at Mobile, Alabama, when the Civil War broke out. His commanding officer surrendered the vessel to the Alabama authorities, and both the vessel and its former commander were commissioned in the Confederate Navy. Shoemaker and the crew made their way north, where he served throughout the Civil War as an officer on board U.S. Navy vessels assigned to convoy duty along the East Coast. New York Times, 19 March 1895.. Shoemaker continued to implement the reforms initiated by Captain **Shepard**,, and was more successful with Congress in obtaining the long-sought retirement program.

22.. Murphy, "Portrait of Captain Michael A. **Healy**," [note discrepancy in middle initial of **Healy's** name] attributes the remark to **Kimbell**,, but does not cite his source. It may account for the ill-will **Healy** felt towards **Kimbell**.. In the fall of 1892 the death of Captain White, former Inspector of the Life Saving Service on the Pacific Coast, made the position available- Adherents of **Healy** asked Dr. Jackson to

support his nomination. Captain **Healy**, who was still in Alaska did not know of the vacancy until his return to San Francisco. He subsequently wrote bitterly to Jackson, when the appointment went to Captain **Coulson**: "I trust you did me the justice to explain to them as well as others of Kimball's duplicity . . . as I have often told you he did not want me in that service. Nor would I have liked to be under him, because he cannot make a **tool** of me to swell the fraudulent reports of which the life saving service is made up . . . I felt embarrassed and vexed to think that my seniority of rank and record would not have counted for something." **Cantwell** to Jackson, 2 November 1892; **Healy** to Jackson, 31 December 1892,, Jackson Papers.

23.. This account originates with Albert S.. Foley, the 'biographer of James and Patrick **Healy**, and was recounted to Albert S.. **Cocke**, who retold the story to the writer. According to Foley, the widow of the **Healy's** son, Fred, was approached in the early 1920's by a film company that was interested in making a movie of Mike **Healy's** career. After reading the **Healy** diary, she reportedly burned it. The incident is also recounted by Murphy, "Portrait of Captain Michael A. **Healy**.."

24.. Everett W.. **Stonquist**, The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Cultural Conflict, (Russell & Russell, New York, 1961)..

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MAP

Map of North Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea - U.S.R.C.
Area of Operations

MICHAEL J. HEALY AND THE ALASKA
MARITIME FRONTIER
~~1880-1902~~

Volume
Two

by
GERALD O. WILLIAMS

A THESIS

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